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ABSTRACT

The perceptions of the school system held by selected 6th grade Chicano students, their parents, selected school personnel, and the power structure (i.e., superintendent, school board members, councilmen, mayor) were examined. Two Texas school districts of equal characteristics and size, with heavy Chicano enrollments were selected. In one, the faculty and administration reflected the student composition; in the other, they did not. The sample consisted of: 15 Chicano students and their parents, 15 teachers, and 15 administrators and members of the community power structure. Similar procedures were employed with both school districts. By using questionnaires and interviews on these selected groups, certain factors associated with lack of academic achievement of Chicano children were identified. In the process, the Chicano value system, culture, family, self-concept and actual scholastic achievement were examined vis-a-vis the Anglo child. The investigation uncovered significant differences in values, role-concepts, self and familial-concepts, as possible factors that influence the educational behavior and achievement of Chicano children. Findings led to the conclusion that lack of achievement among Chicano children is attributed to various sources of conflict between them and the school. (Author/NQ)

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A SOCIOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF DIFFERENCES IN STUDENT MOTIVATION: A CASE STUDY OF TWO SCHOOL DISTRICTS IN TEXAS

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to investigate the perceptions of the school system held by selected Chicano children, their parents, selected school personnel, and the power structure (i.e., school board members, councilmen, etc.). To carry out this investigation, two Texas school districts of equal characteristics and size, having heavy Chicano enrollments were selected; one with a faculty and administration that reflected the student composition and one that did not. Fifteen 6th grade Chicano children randomly selected and their parents were interviewed. In addition, 15 teachers and administrators, as well as part of the community power structure were interviewed. Similar procedures were employed with both school districts. By using the techniques of questionnaires and interviews on these selected groups, it was hoped that certain factors associated with lack of academic achievement of Chicano children would be identified. In the process, the Chicano value system, culture, family, self-concept and actual scholastic achievement were examined vis-a-vis the Anglo child.

There are over ten million Chicanos in the United States today, with over 75 percent living in the Southwest. Most of the Chicanos are of Nahautl stock with the incursion

of some European, principally Spanish, blood. Since the end of the Mexican-American War, these people have become a poor and exploited minority within the dominant Anglo society. Spanish has been their vernacular language. However, speaking Spanish has been discouraged and sometimes cruelly quashed in the schools of the Southwest. As a result of this situation, a great number of people communicate in two languages and speak neither English nor Spanish very well. This prevailing attitude toward Chicanos typifies an Anglo attitude that somhow points to the Chicano culture as substandard.

Existing public schools are not meeting the needs and requirements of Chicano pupils and consequently, a significant number are under-achieving. According to the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, the Chicano child achieves lower than his Black or Anglo counterpart. At the 4th, 8th and 12th grades, the proportion of Chicano students reading below grade level is generally twice as large as the proportion of Anglo children. Moreover, there is a growing concern that teachers and administrators have not only been unwilling to examine their own stereotyped views of culturally different students, but have rather naively blamed the lack of achievement of these pupils on a variety of deficits. These deficits, that the dominant culture perceives as unalterable include cognative, linguistic, social-class, negative self-esteem, family-influence, and culture contrary to the values of the school. As a result of this, the chief target of change has been the

child. There has been a lack of willingness to examine institutional aspects of the school or school personnel as contributing factors to the Chicano's lack of achievement.

This investigation uncovered significant differences in values, role-concepts, self and familial-concepts, as possible factors that influence the educational behavior and achievement of Chicano children.

Findings led to the conclusion that lack of achievement among Chicano children is attributed to various sources of conflict between them and the school. Chicano children have resisted the conventional school and dominant culture by retaining their language, culture, identity, and by not allowing themselves to be absorbed by the dominant society. Some Anglo misconceptions and stereotypes remain in the schools today that overtly or inadvertently damage Chicano children.

This study suggests the following recommendations:

(1) The language, history and culture of the Chicano must become an integral part of the total educational process.

(2) Chicanos must be fully represented in all decision-making positions.

(3) The curricula must be revised to meet the needs of all the children of the schools.

For the above recommendations to be accomplished, the three levels of governments, local, state, and federal must be coordinated to work together so as to bring about the needed changes.

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In carrying out this work, I was helped and greatly supported by many people. Four young educators that deserve special mention are Ninfa Lozano, Hilario Ramirez, Horacio C. Acevedo, Jr., and Victor Lopez. To Dr. Ronald Jackson for helping me crystalize some of my original concepts and Dr. Franklin Patterson for listening to me and offering valuable suggestions from a non-Chicano point of view. To Dr. Salomón Flores, my greatest critique, sincere appreciation and gratitude.

To my wife, who encouraged and supported me throughout the entire undertaking and who was kind enough to type the entire manuscript. To these and all the people who actively participated in this endeavor, I humbly and sincerely give thanks.

DEDICO ESTA OBRA

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MI QUERIDA SEÑORA ESPOSA

Y

A MIS CINCO HIJOS

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CHAPTER I

Introduction

A. A Short History of the Chicanos

Even before one can discuss education and the Chicano child, we must identify the people generally, but not always, referred to as the Chicanos. What is the etymology of Chicanos? Where do they come from? Where do they live?

Who are they, these people who come in all shades and sizes from very light to very dark complexions and very small to very tall in height? Who are these people with naturally straight and curly black hair or with naturally red, brunette, or blonde hair? Who are these people that have dark or light brown eyes; or green, hazel or blue eyes?

Who are they, these people who are expected as a rule to speak and understand the Spanish language but often range from truly bilingual bicultural to monolingual in English? Who are these people who speak an archaic form of dialectic frontier Spanish but also speak "Chuco" style?

The answer to these questions is as complex as the definition of what is an American. Chicanos themselves find it difficult to define who they are. Many say "I am a Mexican-American," others say "I am an American of Mexican descent.' Others call themselves "Latins,"

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"Spanish speaking Americans," "Spanish surnamed," or even "American Mexican," with or without the hyphen. Still others call themselves the "Brown people," "Raza de Bronze," or Raza Cósmica." Each term expresses a particular philosophy or an attitude regarding self-identification. To consider Chicanos a homogeneous group with a given set of characteristics and qualities is therefore to stereotype. The Chicanos even though often thought by many people that they all came from Mexico, actually didn't. One must remember that Texas and the Southwest were colonized and settled long before there was a United States of North America and a Republic of Mexico. Hundreds of thousands of Chicanos today are descendents of the founding Iberians, Spanish, and native Indians of the Southwest and Texas. These people and their descendents never crossed the border between the United States and Mexico. On the contrary, the border crossed them after the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848.* Likewise, some people think all Chicanos are descendents of the Aztec-Mayan and other Native Mexican Indian Nation. Many Chicanos are, but one must remember that to Spain, the only good Indian was a converted, civilized citizen of the empire assimilated into the mainstream of the Hispanic American Society. Consequently, hundreds of missions were established throughout Northern Mexico, Texas, and the Southwest for the assimilation of the Indians.

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*Treaty between United States and Mexico signed after the Mexican War.

The mission Indians and their descendents are very much a part of the people called Chicanos today.

For the above given reasons, the stereotype belief that all Chicanos have a "grandmother that came from Spain" is not true either.

The etymology of the Chicano is just as complex as where they came from. In many cases, it depends on their philosophy and historical cultures and background. As Octavio I. Romano-V says: "Cholos, Pachos, Pachucos, Chicanos, Mexicanos, Hispanos, Spanish surnamed people, Mexican Americans. Many labels. Because this is such a complex population, it is difficult to give one label to them all. And probably the first to resist such an effort would be these people themselves, for such a monolithic treatment would violate the very pluralistic foundation upon which their historical philosophies have been based" (38:44-45).

For purposes of this paper, the author has chosen to use the term "Chicanos" as synonymous with Mexican American, Spanish speakers of Mexican descent, Latin American, Spanish Americans, or any other term used today to identify this particular population. However, the author, like Professor Roman-V, strongly advocates and believes in the pluralism of this country. We are all individuals and should remain free to choose whatever alternatives we want—as per our Declaration of Independence "All men are created equal and endowed by their creater with certain

inalienable rights . . . life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. . . " Dr. Romano's concluding statement on the above article states:

> If the day should ever come when all of these people are willingly subsumed under one label or banner, when they align themselves only under one philosophy, on that day, finally, they will have become totally and irrevocably Americanized. On that day, their historical alternatives and freedoms in personal choice of life-styles, and their diversity, will have been permanently entombed in the histories of the past (38:45).

The Chicanos are the second largest minority in this country. They constitute better than 5 percent of the total population or better than 10 million people. Approximately 70 percent of these people are concentrated in the southwestern states of the United States—California, Arizona, Colorado, New Mexico, and Texas. They make up the largest minority group in the schools of this region, they comprise nearly 20 percent of the total enrollment. More than four-fifths are in two states; California and Texas. However Chicanos constitute more of the enrollment (40 percent) in New Mexico than in any other state (27:59-64).

The genesis of the Chicano goes back to 1521. On that date the Chicano was born. The inscription from a monument at Plaza De Las Tres Culturas, Mexico City, states it as follows:

> El 13 de Agosto de 1521
> heroicamente defendido por Cuahtemoc
> cayo Tlaltelolco en poder de Hernan Cortes
> No fue victoria ni derrota
> fue el doloroso nacimiento del pueblo Mestizo
> que es el Mexico he hoy.

(On August 13, 1521, the city of Tlaltelolco, despite a

heroic defense by Cuahtemoc, was taken by Hernando Cortez. It was neither a victory nor a defeat but the sorrowful birth of the Mestizo people who are the Mexican nation of today.) (10:28-29)

The Chicano people, La Raza, are plain "gente" (people), often forgotten people in our own land who have been the underprivileged of this society for generations. Perhaps as often said, we are destined to inherit the earth in the gospel sense—as the oppressed and poor. Throughout our history, we have experienced every form of human bondage and destruction possible. It started in Mexico by the invading armies of foreign powers and continues in this country—not quite over today. In Mexico, the stinging curse and plaintive lament is one and the same: "Viva Mexico, hijos de la Chingada!" (Long live Mexico, sons of the Violated One.) Yet, in spite of all this destruction and violation, never defeated. These people have refused to die or be conquered—they truly have endured—to this very day (10:29). The birth of the mestizo also placed Mexico under Spanish rule for the next three centuries. The Spaniards intermarried with the Indians and allowed them to be baptized as Roman Catholics. However, the Indians and the offsprings of these marriages were never considered equal by the Spanish Society. The offspring of this marriage was the first Chicano. The Society was then structured to place whites in positions of power and authority while mixed bloods and Indians were ranked at the very bottom. So

the Chicano made his entrance to society at the very bottom of the pile. This structured racial hierarchy was to last till 1810, when the revolutionary cry 'Independencia! ¡Que mueran los Gachupines!" (Independence! Death to the white Spanish devil!) was heard all over Mexico (25:3).

The Aztecs passed on much history and knowledge to our ancestors. They were excellent architects, city planners, artists, craftsmen and statesmen. When the Spaniards first saw Tenochtitlan (capitol of the Aztec empire) they exclaimed, "Are not the things we see a dream?" (30:232) Much more of the history could be known today (for it was all written down) but for the book-burning, anti-pagan zeal of the Christian priests who ordered the destruction of entire libraries after the Conquest (10:33).

The Southwest was explored and colonized by a combination of mestizo Spanish, and Indian pioneers. When Cabeza de Vaca returned to Mexico City and told the incredible tales of the fabled Seven Cities of Cibola and the Golden Quivera, Coronado followed Cabeza de Vaca and explored what is now Arizona, Texas, New Mexico, Colorado, and Kansas. All this area was considered part of Aztlan by the Aztecs—where they had first come from. These explorations were for more kingdoms and empires to conquer and pillage, but the explorers found only rugged mountains, deserts, unending plains, and unfriendly Indians (2:41-67). The Indians the explorers found were considered savages but these "savages" were shrewd enough to keep the gold-hungry conquistadores

on a never ending chase for the kingdoms of gold for years. "Mas allá," the Indians kept saying about the fabled cities. "More over in that direction," the Indians would tell them, just don't stop and do to us what you did to our brothers in Mexico. But by this time, the stage had been set for a future settlement by men more inclined toward colonization than conquest. The plan by the Spanish was to build a line of defense to protect a central colony in New Mexico with outposts in California, Arizona, and Texas. Eventually, the region would be integrated into the rest of the country. Juan de Oñate and a large group of pioneers settled New Mexico in 1598. In 1609, Santa Fe was founded. It is the oldest state capitol in the United States. In the west coast, present day California and Arizona, the Jesuit Eusebio Kino pioneered the settlement including Baja California. Texas was settled in the area of present day Nacogdoches and San Antonio. In California, Fray Junipero Serra and other Franciscan pioneers established a series of twenty-one missions from San Diego to San Francisco—and two pueblos—San Jose and Los Angeles—were also established. These impressive achievements of colonization from Texas to California were established by Mexicanos-espanoles, a people who had synthesized two bloods—Spanish and Indian. These were the Chicanos of yesteryear (10:36-37).

The mestizo influence permeates every aspect of life and thought in the Southwest—in the economy, customs, laws, place names, speech, and architecture. When the first

Anglos arrived in the area, they found not a wilderness but a land settled and civilized by the people who had come north from Mexico. These were to teach the Anglo newcomers about mining, sheep, cattle-raising, and irrigated farming. Since the sixteenth century, Mexicans had been mining silver and gold and centuries later would teach the forty-niners in California how to prospect for gold and instruct them on the main principles of mining law. The cattle and sheep industries in the Southwest were built on centuries of accumulated knowledge and labor of Mexicans whose Spanish fathers had brought the first sheep and cattle to the new world. The American sheepherder, cowboy, and rancher contributed nothing original to the development of these industries in the Southwest. Irrigated farming was also a distinctively Spanish-Mexican-Indian contribution. The Moors taught the Spaniards how to irrigate arid land, and in turn the Spaniards brought this knowledge to Mexico where they learned even more from the Indians. The first irrigation systems in the Southwest were Mexican-espanol in origin (33:1-11). Besides the sheep and cattle, these pioneers brought goats, horses, pigs, cats, and barnyard fowl. The first harvests of pears, peaches, apples, citrus, cherries, grapes, dates, almonds, and walnuts came from their labor. Even Spanish-Mexican laws were incorporated into Anglo law. In fact, a Lexicon can easily be compiled listing the Spanish words used in the Anglo's everyday speech (23:349-353). Anglo

Americans would later make their own invaluable contributions, but, when they arrived in the Southwest in the nineteenth century, they found a people waiting for them who had tamed a barren and forbidding wilderness and had made it produce beyond the wildest dreams. Millions of Chicanos living in the Southwest today are the direct descendents of these first pioneers (10:37-38).

During the beginning of the nineteenth century, most Anglos believed in the doctrine of Manifest Destiny and were ready to occupy the entire continent to the Pacific Ocean--conquering everything and everyone in their path. Mexico had just won her independence and was internally weakened by political and economic upheavals. With the purchase of Louisiana, United States took a contiguous position with Mexico. Luis de Onís, Spanish minister to Washington, reported to the viceroy in Mexico in 1812 that he knew, from very reliable sources, that the "ultimate ambition of the United States was to extend its boundaries to the Rio Bravo (Rio Grande) and to the Pacific" (22:279). Eventually, this led the American government to provoke a war of aggression and imperialism against Mexico. During all this time, the United States permitted its people to illegally immigrate into Mexican territory. In an attempt to stop this, in 1819, the two countries agreed on a treaty--the Adams-Onís Treaty. It stipulated that in exchange for Florida, Americans would stay out of Texas. This lasted as long as it took the ink of the pact to dry. The illegal

flow of immigrants didn't even slow down. Continued disguised white racism led finally to an all-out war between the two countries. They also rationalized subsequent injustices committed against the Chicano people.

The prevailing American attitude toward Mexicans was revealed in the distorted and prejudiced accounts of life in the Southwest penned by several notable Americans, such as James Ohio Pattie, Thomas Jefferson Farnham, Richard Henry Dana, and Mary Austin Holley. They wrote highly judgmented reports of the Mexican people, their institutions, traditions, values, dress, education, politics, and women. Everything Mexican was held up to a severely critical and unfavorable light (19:14-17). Some of these writers, neither knew the people they were writing about nor cared for them. Ignorance and bias were their basis for their writings. Others wrote with the ulterior motives of rousing Americans to invade the Southwest as a justification for the invasion of Texas which was then taking place. All along, the theme was the same—the superiority of the Anglo race to the Mexican; that Mexicans were inferior due to their mixed blood; that the Mexican people would greatly profit from being conquered and controlled by socially and culturally superior Anglos. This philosophy is still believed and practiced by many to this very day.

"The half-breed as might be expected," wrote Farnham, "exhibits much of the Indian countenance, the small twinkling piercing eyes, the laziness and filth of a free

brute, using freedom as the mere means of animal enjoyment . . . their intelligence is quite limited" (16:18). Another Anglo critic wrote that the Mexicans of Texas are "very ignorant and degraded, and generally speaking timid and irresolute" (16:21). "In the hands of enterprising people," wrote Dana "what a country this might be!" (16:26) "The southern races must be renovated and a new vigor infused into them, and the United States is the officina gentium for the New Continent" (16:27). Thus some authors criticized Chicanos for being half-breeds, however, if the Anglo was one of the breeds, it was all right. No wonder the Native Americans always thought of the "pale face" as speaking with a "forked tongue." Many of these feelings by authors still persist today—still pointing to the Spanish-speaking person as being the problem—even though the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo of 1848 guaranteed these people their culture, language, religion—and surprisingly, their property. Yet, Burma, only yesteryear said, "Spanish-speaking minority groups have been an American social problem for a good portion of the nation's history" (6:Ch.1).

A clash in values has existed for many, many years. Speaking very generally, Mexicans are oriented toward the present more than to the future. They enjoy life day by day and believe the end and object of work is leisure and pleasure (a view which has recently been reaffirmed by those who repudiate the American "rat race"). Americans, on the other hand, are future oriented

and believe that hard work is synonymous with virtuous living. When the Anglos took over, there was no effort to integrate the good of one value system with the other. The Chicano values would be ignored or, in direct clashes, obliterated (19:283).

There were many Anglos who took pride in democratic institutions and ideals. However, they envied the possessions of the aristocratic Chicano society of New Mexico and California. From President Polk on down to the lowest Yankee squatter and interloper—all were determined to take it from the Chicanos by any means necessary—and they did. When it came to taking land and wealth from the Chicanos, they soon forgot their democratic ideals of due process and equal protection under the law.

The Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo ended the war between the United States and Mexico. If was signed on February 2, 1848. Mexico had little choice—her capital was occupied by American troops, her provinces overrun by the enemy, and internally, the Mexican government was torn asunder by political factions (24:71-101). The heart of the agreement is compressed into articles 5, 8, 9, and 10. Article 5 stipulated that the boundary between the two nations would be shifted so that half of Mexico (California, Arizona, New Mexico, Texas, Colorado, part of Utah, and Nevada) would become American territory. In return, the United States agreed to pay Mexico fifteen million dollars.

Articles 8 and 9 deal with the right of Mexicans who would remain with the conquered lands. And Article 10, which stipulated that grants would be valid, was dropped by the United States at a later date. One wonders if such an agreement could be handled like this today—say between Israel and Egypt or Jordan?

Articles 8 and 9, as summarized by Professor Rivera (20:185) included these rights:

1. Freedom from harassment that attempts to force Mexicans to give up their personal possessions—land, property, goods.

2. Exemption from taxation resulting from the sale of property that can be traced to the original inhabitant.

3. Protection under the United States Constitution and all subsequent legislation.

4. Guaranteed equal treatment and equal protection under the law.

5. Freedom of religion and religious property.

6. Protection of culture which included language, clothing, music, food, and anything that could reasonably be construed as culture.

7. Recognition of their land titles except as limited by protocol.

8. Protection against state, municipal, or territorial ordinances that violate these rights.

This treaty has never been honored by the United States. With the exception of freedom of religion, the guarantees have been flagrantly violated from the day the treaty was signed. The treaty was actually a fitting testimony to the motives and ambitions of the United States—an illegal and unauthorized agreement which led only to double dealing

and hypocrisy. The treaty had a real test when gold was discovered in California. The Chicanos quickly learned that they had no rights under the treaty—the apparent policy of the United States was to invite all the citizens into the newly annexed territory without regard to the rights of the Chicanos to the land, and property (19:296). To add insult to injury, the signers of the treaty not only forfeited an empire to the United States, but were unaware that gold had been discovered in California nine days before the treaty was signed (5:10).

Today, the education of the Chicanos is still very tragically and woefully inadequate. The reasons lie buried deep in the past. All Mexicans were guaranteed by the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo that their education would be protected, an education suited to the distinct cultural and linguistic needs of the children. Yet, from the beginning of gringo rule, no Spanish language instruction was ever adequately provided (19:224-228). It has often been said that the coming of the Anglo ushered in the age of public school education for all children. Such a statement should be amended to state "all children except Mexicans." The American public school system did nothing for Mexican children. One searches in vain to find Spanish surnames on public school rolls in the Southwest after the war. Everything Mexican or Spanish related is completely omitted. The Mexican children were discouraged from attending by the failure to provide them proper instruction.

As a result, many parents kept their children at home. This is the genesis of the Chicano high school dropouts and flunkouts—pushouts of today (10:49).

In 1855 the Bureau of Public Instruction in California ordered that all schools must teach exclusively in English (19:225-228). By the 1860's, all states of the Southwest had laws that mandated that all public school instruction would be taught in English. Texas rescinded this same law in 1969!

Of the great number of Chicanos that live in the Southwest today, it is estimated that over one third are direct descendents of Mexicans who were residents of the West and Southwest prior to 1848. The other two-thirds, most are recent immigrants or else first and second-generation Americans. There have been three large waves of migrants from Mexico. The first one took place in 1910. This was when Mexico was going through its great political-social upheaval. The United States encouraged this immigration because of the need for agricultural labor created by World War I. During the 1920's, there was a second wave of migration. It is estimated that between 1910 and 1930, over 1,000,000 Mexicans emigrated to the United States. After World War II, a third group came to the United States, attracted once more by the agricultural labor market. These waves were highly encouraged by the United States and many of the already minimal qualifications were waived to increase the migration. It was these laborers who established the

great agricultural industry of the San Joaquin, Imperial, Salt River, Mesella and Rio Grande valleys. The fortitude of these people and their contributions to the progress of these areas is never mentioned much less spelled out in our history books (13:7-13). It must also be mentioned here that to a large number of Mexicans this has never been the cultural and psychologial wrench generally associated with migration. Many simply consider it a "returning," an attitude which has existed among Mexicans for centuries. For example, many California families considered themselves to be residents of both Californias (Baja and Alta). Today, too, many Mexicans continue to hold to this attitude. Many have residences at both sides of the border; many work in one country and live in the other, regardless of their nationality.

It must be mentioned here also that when the great Depression came, the government adopted the simple and cheap expediency of deporting Mexican laborers. Carloads of them were sent back to Mexico--in thousands of cases overlooking their legal rights. In the enforced exodus, many who were United States citizens by right of birth were summarily deported. The criterion that was generally used was one of visual identification or stereotype.

During the third and last wave of immigration, the two countries signed an agreement, popularly called Los Braceros Program which brought to the United States thousands of Mexican Nationals. Thousands of other Mexicans

crossed the border illegally. Some crossed the Rio Grande—these are called "wetbacks." However, this is really a misnomer, since one can walk across the Rio Grande river and never get wet above the knees. And, this being the case, why should one swim across the river when one can walk across. Besides, across New Mexico, Arizona, and California, there is no river!

The crucial issue to understand here is not the migration itself, but the fact that the migration has provided and continues to provide a constant reinforcement of Mexican culture since the majority of Mexican laborers who enter the United States legally come with limited education, skills, or language ability. This places them at a great disadvantage in terms of assimilation into the mainstream. These same limitations force them to cluster together in communities (barrios or colonias) which, instead of offering them new experiences, only reinforce the culture they have brought with them (13:12-13). The school and social systems that received these people have never understood this and the ones that have, have never done much for them.

Another very important point is that the thousands of Mexicans that decided to remain and receive American citizenship were as varied a group as exists today in any area. They reflect those differences typical of Mexico, not to the United States; for built into their group was a system of social stratification that under Spanish rule had controlled Mexico for more than three hundred years.

If we were to visualize the system as a pyramid, at the apex were the peninsulares—born in Spain and sent here to the New World as government, religious or military leaders. Overthrown in 1821 during the Mexican revolution, they were subsequently replaced by the Criollos-Mexican—people born of Spanish parents. These people, typifying all that was Spanish—were truly "white," unless they had some Moorish blood. For all intent and purpose they became la gente de razon (the people who reason), la gente decente (the decent people) and los quien mandan (the people who command). Below the criollos were the mestizos, those of mixed Indian and Spanish blood, popularly known as La Raza—Los Chicanos. This became the majority group. Below the mestizo was the lowest class, the Indian—the indio, the indigeno. They were the laborer, soldier, artisans—the uneducated (13:9-10). When the Southwest became part of the United States, this social stratification, basic to Mexican culture, was an accompanying element. To this day, some Chicanos still place value on one's social position, skin coloring, and type of employment.

B. The Problem and Purpose of the Investigation

1. The Problem

At present, a problem facing public school educators is the formal academic achievement of Chicano children. The typical Chicano completes fewer years of schooling and drops out of school more frequently than his Anglo, Black or

Oriental counterpart. In the Southwest, 40 percent of all Chicano students fail to graduate from high school. Three out of every five twelfth graders are reading below grade level and 16 percent of all students in the Southwest are required to repeat first grade for failure to perform what is considered to be an acceptable academic level (29:182-183).

The U. S. Commission of Civil Rights, in their four year study of Mexican American education, identified and documented that the schools of the Southwest were failing in providing equal educational opportunities to the Chicano children. According to the first report, to a large degree, the Chicano children attend schools separated from their Anglo counterparts. They are also underrepresented as teachers and counselors and in decision-making positions such as those of principals, superintendents, and school board members. The second report cites that the language and culture of the Chicano children are ignored and even suppressed by the schools. Chicano parents are largely excluded from participation in school affairs. In Texas, the investigation revealed that schools which have predominately Chicano enrollments are underfinanced in comparison to the schools attended by Anglo children. In report number 5, the Commission found that many teachers fail to involve Chicano children as active participants in the educational process. As previously mentioned, for every ten Chicano students who enter the first grade, only six graduate from

high school. By contrast, nearly nine of every ten Anglo students remain in school and receive high school diplomas.

The above mentioned factors are a matter of crucial concern to this author and hereby presents it as a major problem presently facing the public schools of the Southwest today (29:1-3).

2. The Purpose of the Investigation

The purpose of this study is to involve two selected school districts in Texas with a heavy enrollment of Chicano students and:

(a) to perform an in-depth comprehensive investigation into certain factors that seem to be associated with the lack of formal academic achievement of Chicano students;

(b) to make recommendations based on research findings to help improve the educational opportunities of Chicano children in schools with heavy Chicano enrollment.

C. Descriptions of the Two Texas Towns

1. Town X

Town S is a small town on the Texas Valley, on the border between Mexico and the United States. It has a school population of approximately 2,800 students. Nearly 85 percent of the school population are Chicano children. A great number of the people work on farms or farm-related jobs. Almost half of all the adult workers are migrant workers that follow the migrant cycle. The biggest single product of the area is citrus fruits. Truck farming

and limited livestock make up the rest of the jobs of the area. There is also much trade of locally raised products between Mexico and this town.

The school district is one of 1,150 in the state of Texas. The faculty is about 40 percent Chicano with the administration over 90 percent non-Chicano, including the superintendent.

2. Town Y

Town Y is also a small rural town in South Texas near the Mexican border. It has 2,750 students, the student population is over 90 percent Chicano.

The major industry of this town is truck farming (seasonal work) and limited livestock; however, over 60 percent of the people migrate "up-north" and follow the migrant cycle. The 40 percent that does not migrate, does seasonal work or work in packing sheds or packing houses in the area. This type of employment is strictly seasonal.

The school district has a teacher population of over 90 percent Chicano. The administration is also over 90 percent Chicano, including the superintendent.

D. Rationale for the Study

The Spanish surnamed students in this country are the second largest minority group in the public schools today—over 5 percent of the total United States school population. In the Southwest, the Chicano, the largest

minority group in the schools of this region, comprises over 17 percent of the total school enrollment.

Throughout the Southwest, a disproportionately large number of Chicano and other minority youngsters lack reading skills commensurate with age and grade level expectations. At the fourth, eighth, and twelfth grades the proportion of Chicano students reading below grade level is generally twice as large as the proportion of Anglos reading below grade level. At the fourth grade, 51 percent of the Chicanos compared to 25 percent of the Anglos are reading below grade level. By the eighth grade, the percentages of Chicanos reading below grade level has increased to 64 percent and by the twelfth grade, despite the fact that many of the poorest achievers have already left school, 63 percent of the Chicanos are reading below grade level compared to 34 percent of the Anglos. The severity of reading retardation also increases the longer the Chicano child stays in school. In the fourth grade, 17 percent of the Chicano children are reading two or more years below grade level. By the time they are in the twelfth grade, the number reading two or more years below grade level has increased to 20 percent. There is a gradual deterioration of achievement for all Chicano students in the Southwest (28: Report II). These wide differences in achievement are a matter of crucial concern to this author and should be to this nation. The final test of a school system's effectiveness is the performance

of its students. Under this test, our schools are definitely not performing equally for all students. Under these circumstances, the writer feels very strongly that this problem merits the proposed investigation.

E. Method of Procedure

The procedure followed in this research will be as follows:

1. To do an on-site visitation of the selected school districts;

2. To analyze the achievement of sixth graders for the past two or possibly three years as a means of comparing achievement between Chicanos and national norms;

3. To describe and analyze the composition of the faculty and administration of the two school districts vis-a-vis the student body for determination if the faculty truly reflect the composition of the student body;

4. To perform in-depth interviews with children, parent, faculty, and administration.

This study will be divided into five major areas of investigation. The first chapter will deal with the introduction of the problem. The second chapter is concerned with a review of related literature. The third chapter deals with the description of how the study was carried out. Chapter four is concerned with the results observed and obtained from research. The fifth chapter gives consideration to the summary, conclusion, and recommendation

for further studies.

F. Statement of the Problem

The problem was to examine student achievement of sixth graders in the two selected school districts, interview a select group of sixth graders, their parents, their teachers, and their administrators, including superintendent and school board members, and observe and describe the environment of the two school districts.

G. Limitations of the Study

The study was limited to interviewing fifteen Chicano children at the sixth grade, fifteen parents of the children interviewed (either father or mother), fifteen teachers of these children and fifteen administration, school board members, or power structure members. One district has a faculty that reflects ethnically the composition of the student body and one does not. The achievement results that were analyzed were from present sixth grade student records and from the past two years.

H. Implications of the Study

The results of this study may help improve the educational opportunities in other school districts that have heavy Chicano enrollments. This study will also underline and suggest certain factors that play heavily in motivating and better understanding Chicano children.

I. Organization of the Study

The first chapter serves as an introductory chapter to the study and is concerned with a short history of the Chicanos, statement of the problem, rationale, and methodology of the study. Chapter II is concerned with related literature. The areas examined are problems related to the education of the Chicanos, stereotypes, values, attitudes, and socio-economic conditions. The third chapter describes the total methodology of the study—starting with a description of the school district, faculty, question areas, test results, and method of analysis of results. Chapter IV deals with the observation and results of the entire study. Chapter V summarizes the study, makes conclusions, and offers recommendations for consideration.

CHAPTER II

Related Literature

As mentioned previously, the education of the Chicanos is still tragically and shamefully inadequate. Through the untiring efforts and vision of Chicano as well as some non-Chicano educators there is movement in a positive direction. The pace is slow; the systems grudgingly and hesitantly give ground for educators are notoriously famous for resisting change— to this problem, they are no different.

In Chapter I, it was stated that over half of the children in the towns investigated are migrant children. Very mobile, the migrant families spend only the time required to harvest the crop of the area and then leave. Rarely does the migrant family get involved with any functions of the community since the family usually lives on migrant camps across the tracks of the community or in isolated, out-of-the-way areas. In a United States Office of Education publication, Jess Walker of Western Michigan University stated that migrants are the most educationally disadvantaged boys and girls of the total segment of the school population. Many educators across the country are

and have been aware of these problems for many, many, years and of the poor job the public schools are doing to meet the needs of these children. Not only educators but welfare officials, enforcement officers, local, state and federal officers, farm owners, and even politicians at all levels are aware of this. Walker's report further states "most educational programs are still total failures for migrant children" (31:2).

A. Problems Related to the Education of Chicanos

As in the past, the Chicano of today still experiences difficulty in the public schools. Particularly in the Southwest, the Chicano child does not achieve or experience as high an educational attainment as his white or black peer. In comparison to the achievement of his counterparts, the Chicano child is a linguistical and cultural atypical child—not cultural deprived or cultural disadvantaged, but with a different culture.

Chicano children, like all other children, enter school already having acquired considerable knowledge and skills. Learning does not commence when children start school, but actually much earlier—in fact, immediately after birth. By the time the children enter school they have learned a language; they have absorbed a culture, and they have gained a sense of values and tradition from their families and communities (32:76-178). In addi-

tion, the children are loved and well protected by their families and encouraged to attend school and learn much. Entrance to school brings about an abrupt change for practically all children, but for many Chicanos the change is often very shattering and traumatic. The school rejects the skills and knowledge they have gained in their early years. The language they know—some sort of Spanish—is not the language of the schools and, therefore, is either ignored or actively suppressed. In few schools that accept the Spanish language as a medium of communication, the Chicano's particular dialect is often considered "substandard" or no language at all. English is the exclusive language of instruction in most schools of the Southwest. Yet, with little or no assistance, Chicano children are expected to master this language while competing on equal terms with their Anglo peers. Dr. Nava, professor at San Fernando Valley State College and a member of the Los Angeles Board of Education, reported that the great problem posed public schools today by the Chicano children is clearly identified when one considers the fact that the educational achievement is lower for Chicanos than <u>any other minority group</u>! (40:6)

Other expert educators feel that the real reason the Chicano children do not do as well in school as their counterparts is because of the school system and not the ability, language, or culture of the child. Some educators feel strongly that when all efforts are focused only on

the child, to seek the answers for his achievement, one is really only looking at part of the picture. Once should look at the entire picture to accurately analyze and assess the situation of achievement—to look beyond the child. Dr. Arciniega, Dean of San Diego State College and formerly professor at University of Texas of El Paso, says that

> To date the educational system response to the demands for change in approach (goals-end) to educating bicultural minority youngsters has been mainly tractive. Public education traditionally has never really decided to educate equally and properly all students. The system has employed various mechanisms and devices to encourage drop-outs or push-outs; certain ethnic, social, and economic categories of clients. From the school's standpoint, the Chicano qualifies on all three counts. Tractive response is characterized by increased efforts to socialize and influence incumbents in ways that cause them to drop new goal orientations and accept present ones. This is accomplished through various measures, outright coercion, system of extrinsic incentives, status-promotion allocations, increased emphasis on adherence to existing rules and regulation, cooperation, and other such measures. In addition to the efforts aimed to incumbents, the tractive response requires the organization to increase it's efforts to socialize "properly" the clients (students) of the system. Clients must be socialized "properly" or they too can force organizational goal changes. Incumbents and clients then are key and receive the brunt of tractive response efforts to maintain present goal system. The organization concentrates on persuading them that changes are not good for the organization—not good for them (1:1-3).

The curriculum which the schools offer seldom includes items of particular relevance to Chicano children and often damages the perception which Chicanos have gained of their culture and heritage. These curricula are developed by agencies and institutions from which Chicanos are almost entirely excluded. The Chicanos are taught these curricula

by teachers who are Anglo, uninformed on the culture of Chicanos and their language. These Anglo teachers are trained at institutions of higher education staffed almost entirely by Anglos, and their training and practice teaching do little to develop the skills necessary to teach Chicano children. Under these circumstances, Chicano children are more likely than their Anglo peers to have problems in dealing with the "alien" school environment. These are some of the conditions and practices which serve to insure poor performance by Chicano students. Widespread assignment practices which purport to be educationally beneficial to students who are not "achieving" do little more than provide official recognition that Chicano children are failing and serve to exonerate the school from any blame. Thus, children who have not acquired sufficient mastery over the material at a particular grade level are retained in grade and separated from their promoted classmates. No special diagnosis of the problem is provided. Rather, they are recycled through the same educational program that already has been proven inappropriate to the Chicano child. Chicano children are retained in grade at a rate of twice as much as Anglo children. As a result of these established unfair conditions that assure failure for Chicano children, the Chicano child's performance is below that of his Anglo peers. Many Chicanos give up this unfair competition and drop out of school before graduation—many starting at the elementary level and peeking at the junior high school.

In effect, the schools have predicted failure and then, by their own actions, assured that this prediction comes true (29:179-184).

Many variable factors influence the school success of Chicano children. Socio-economic conditions, value systems, culture, and family structure are factors very relevant to the performance of Chicano children in school. Following is a limited discussion of the aforementioned factors that play a major role in understanding the Chicano child: his performance, attitude, and why he behaves the way he does.

B. Socio-Economic Conditions of the Chicano

There are over 2 million Chicano students in the continental United States. The second largest minority group in the public schools, they constitute about 5 percent of the total United States' school population. Over 70 percent of these students attend school in the five Southwestern states of Arizona, California, Colorado, New Mexico, and Texas. The largest minority group in the schools of the region, they comprise nearly 20 percent of the total enrollment. More than four-fifths are in two states—California and Texas. The Chicano population is mostly urban—roughly broken down into 80 percent urban and 20 percent rural. The majority of students attend school in large urban districts that have enrollments of 10,000 or more. In Texas nearly two-thirds of all Chicano pupils attend schools

in the counties located along or near the Mexican border. To a lesser extent Chicanos also are concentrated in the counties of north-central New Mexico, southern Colorado, southern Arizona, and the agricultured valleys and southern coastal areas of California. While Chicano students are unevenly distributed among the states and concentrated in specific geographic areas within each state, they are also isolated in districts and schools of the Southwest. About 30 percent of these students attend schools in approximately 200 predominately Chicano districts of the region. The largest number of predominately Chicano districts is in Texas. Ninety-four predominately Chicano districts, almost all located in South Texas, contain nearly 60 percent of the state's Chicano student. About 20 percent of Texas' Chicano students attend school districts which have an almost all Chicano student body (27:59-60).

According to Browning and McLemore, 44 percent of the Spanish-surnamed individuals in Texas are in the 0-14 age range; 51 percent are in the 15-64 range; while only 3.8 percent are 65 years of age or older. This makes this population a very young population. By contrast, the Anglo population in Texas divides as follows: 0-14 years, 30 percent; 15-64 years, 61 percent; 65 years and above, 8 percent (4). Not only is the Spanish-surnamed population a young population, the size of families within this population is large. Manuel provides the following information:

in the Southwest, among the general population, 54.9 percent of all families have only two or three members in the family. Among all the families of the Spanish-surnamed population of the Southwest, only 35 percent of the families have only two or three members. However 19 percent of the families of the Spanish-surnamed population have seven or more members, while the percentage for this family size among the general population is only 5.8 percent (18:Ch 2, 3, 5 & 6). The direction of these percentages is the same in all five states of the Southwest. Texas, however, has the smallest number of Spanish-surnamed families having only two or three members, and the largest number having seven or more members. Browning and McLemore give the following figures for Texas: there are 270,438 Spanish-surnamed families and 1,857,297 Anglo families in Texas. Table 1 illustrates the comparison between the Anglo and Spanish-surnamed family size in Texas (4: 17-19). The Spanish-surnamed population of Texas is a population of large families and growing! (4:19)

TABLE 1

FAMILY SIZE COMPARISON IN THE STATE OF TEXAS

	Spanish-surnamed	Anglo
Number of families in state	270,438	1,857,297
2 persons per family	15 %	34.8%
3 persons per family	16 %	25 %
4 persons per family	16.8%	21 %
5 persons per family	14.8%	12.5%
6 persons per family	12.3%	5.6%
7 persons per family	24.8%	3.7%

To view income, there are at least two ways: first, by the median income of individuals and second, by median income of families. From the study done by Browning and McLemore, the median income of employed Anglo males fourteen years of age and over for the five Southwestern states is: California, $5,242; New Mexico, $4,842; Arizona, $4,574; Colorado, $4,378 and Texas, $4,137. As for Chicanos of the same age, the results are: California, $3,848 or 73 percent of the Anglo income; New Mexico, $2,630 or 54 percent of the Anglo income; Arizona, $2,814 or 64 percent of the Anglo income; and Texas, $2,029 or 49 percent of the Anglo income. This makes Texas the lowest average income of Spanish-surnamed males fourteen and over in the entire Southwest. Compared to his Anglo counterpart, he makes less than 50 percent of the Anglo income in Texas. These figures are from the 1960 census—however, the results have not changed that much today! When comparing the urban resident with the rural resident in Texas there also is a distinct difference. The urban subgroup has a median income of $2,286, while the rural subgroup had a median income of $1,369 (4:20).

Barrett gives some interesting figures on selected occupations of males aged fourteen years or over in the Southwest. In every state of the Southwest, except Arizona, the category of "Operatives and Kindred Workers (bus drivers, dressmakers, railroad brakemen,etc.)" claimed larger numbers of Spanish-surnamed workers than any other

occupational category. These types of jobs are more commonly found in cities, and thus reflect the urbanization of this type population of the Southwest. On the other hand, even though the percentages have doubled for professional, technical, and kindred workers (engineers, lawyers, physicians, teachers, etc.) in all five Southwest states, the percentages are very low——in Texas, the percentage of Spanish-surnamed males fourteen years of age and over was 3 percent in 1960. At the same time, the farm laborers that used to make up 26 percent of the male working force in 1950 had been reduced to 16 percent in 1968 (3:159-199).

When one looks at the median income of families of the Southwest, the story is the same, California has the highest, Texas the lowest. Manuel reports that in the Southwest, 21 percent of the families in the general population have incomes of less than $3,000. By comparison, 35 percent of the Spanish-surnamed families of the Southwest have incomes of less than $3,000. California has 14 percent of the families in the general population and 19 percent Spanish-surnamed families. In Texas, 33 percent of the families in the general population and 52 percent of the Spanish-surnamed families have incomes of less than $3,000 per year. This means that one out of every two families in Texas lives in poverty, if $3,000 is considered to be poverty level (18:Ch.2). It is interesting to note that the average median income of the Spanish-surnamed was the highest in the large urban centers of Dallas, Houston, Fort Worth and decreased as one

neared the Mexico-Texas border—the lowest incomes being in the Brownsville—Harlingen—San Benito area.

In the five year study published in 1970, Grebler, Moore, and Guzman reported that 82 percent of the Chicanos live in California and Texas--meaning that the future of Chicanos depends very largely on their progress in California and Texas (11:18). Just as Barrett reported in his study concerning occupations of Chicanos, Grebler, Moore, and Guzman also found out that many Chicanos work at the low end of the occupational hierarchy. They reported that 57 percent of the Chicanos were employed in low skill labor, contrasted to 26 percent of the Anglos (11:18-19). They also reported that many Chicanos in the Southwest live in substandard housing. This is especially true for those living in many of the migrant labor camps. Financial constraints and large families are factors that also contribute to high incidence of poor housing for Chicanos (11:22-29).

In addition to poor housing, many Chicanos experience substandard medical care. Clark's research revealed that several factors influence health in the Chicano community. She points to financial consideration as the prime reason for medical services not being readily available for Chicanos. Financial demands of large families plus limited income make it difficult to secure adequate private medical services. This in turn forces many Chicanos to seek public health services. Hospitals, and city hospitals in particular, are not always available in areas of high

Chicano population. The patient-doctor relationship is often missing when the doctors do not speak Spanish and the patient does not speak English. This develops mistrust and suspicion. Clark also states that hospitals should prepare menus that include diets designed for Chicanos. Modesty of Chicano girls and women very seriously limits their medical services.

One other very important factor that must be understood by individuals responsible for providing services to Chicanos is that often, health decisions in the Chicano family are a group responsibility, not an individual responsibility and that there is a fear that agencies may cause trouble for them (7 :218-229).

In this study, Casavantes reported that 33 percent of the Chicanos who live in the Southwest live in poverty. In contrast, of the total Caucasian population, only 16 percent live in poverty. This is considering that $3,000 per year per family income is poverty level (8 :5-7).

Yet, it is often an extremely difficult task for a member of an ethnic minority to rise above the level of poverty. To overcome language and educational barriers is no easy task. Being a Chicano should not necessarily have to mean being a lower socio-economic Chicano. Better education has been one way of gaining better employment. Many Chicanos have improved their standard of living and have raised themselves above the poverty level. It is true that colors do not change; however, class structures do change. It is true that once a "Brown" always a "Brown;"

however, it is not necessarily true that once a "poor-man" always a "poor-man" (8 :5-12).

B. Values and Culture of the Chicano

A particular set of circumstances experienced by a group of people is likely to raise problems only when set against a different, but not necessarily better, set of circumstances. In viewing the values, standards, and circumstances of the Chicanos against the values, standards, and circumstances of the Anglos, the only reasonable conclusion is that one has a problem. And this problem is usually identified as the minority group.

To really be able to understand the Chicanos depends upon recognition of the fact that they possess a set of values and culture that is different from that of the Anglos. It is this difference that creates misunderstandings, resulting in lack of empathy for, sensitivity toward, and acceptance of Chicanos. Some teachers try to compensate for their differences in values by imposing on the students values that reflect their own personal background. However, such teachers are inevitably at a disadvantage, for, in the imposition of their own values, they are implying that they do not recognize Chicano Culture as an entity or consider it worthy of recognition. As a result, success does not come (13:19).

As a result of these differences in values and culture, many stereotypes have evolved—intentionally or inadvertently. Heller states "that the kind of socializa-

tion that Chicano children receive at home is not conducive to the development of the capacities needed for advancement in a dynamic industrialized society" (12:34). Hefferman sees eight problems as a result of social and cultural differences for the Mexican American: (1) low level of aspiration on the part of Mexican American students which results in failure to achieve commensurate with ability; (2) lack of parental aspiration and support of educational effort; (3) failure to recognize education as an avenue of social and vocational mobility; and five other such statements. How can investigators ever conclude such statemtnts (32:43-53)?

Chicanos tend to live together in neighborhoods or sections of town called colonias or barrios. Burma defines a colonia as a satellite community, separated from the parent community by psychic and social isolation, with definite if unverbalized barriers between it and the parent community (6:Ch. 3 & 4).

What he means is that a colonia is a neighborhood, set apart from other residential sections by a railroad track, where rent and ownership costs are low, community services are lacking, streets are less likely to be paved and is earmarked for Chicanos. Said another way, it is a segregated area of the town for Chicanos. Kibbe believes that these spatial separations are due in part to the fact that the Spanish-speaking people are a gregarious people and like to live close to each other. He also thinks that because of

the language handicap, it makes it more convenient to live near each other (14). What he doesn't say is that Spanish-speaking people were not permitted to rent or own property except in "little Mexico" colonies, regardless of their social, educational, or economic status. It is only recently that due to the enforcement of Civil Rights legislation that this horrible practice is being challenged. Saunders believes that this separation is mostly a manifestation of the free choice of the Spanish-speaking—"free" within the limits of the fact that poor people in general have only a limited range of choice with respect to where they will live. He continues that Chicanos may find it more comfortable to live among themselves than among those who are culturally alien and possibly hostile (21). Clark finds that Anglos, on the whole, know little about Mexican American customs and values, speak no Spanish, and share many popular misconceptions concerning the Mexican American people (7 :31).

Edmondson holds that there are six general value orientations that stand out in the culture of the Spanish-speaking with some degree of clarity: traditionalism, familism, paternalism, personalism, dramatism, and fatalism. Familism and paternalism extend through the culture and furnish organizational models for relationships outside the sphere of Kinship. A man's position and prestige is largely dependent upon his basic qualifications as head of a household, and the familistic orientation may help to explain the quasi-parental authority of older over younger siblings.

Feminine roles are oriented to the primary familistic roles. The concept of friendship on the kinship model illustrates the familistic tendency, since extended use may be made of the terms primo or compadre when speaking to friends. Paternalism is seen in the superordination of the male sex, and in the relationship of older brothers to younger ones. Edmondson sees these values as being in contrast with Anglo values, for where the Spanish-speaking may emphasize traditionalism, the Anglo culture tends to emphasize progress and change; where the culture of the Chicano is paternalistic that of the Anglos is egalitarian—even though the practice of this belief is questionable; where the culture of the Chicano values familism, that of the Anglo emphasizes individualism. He further states that the Spanish-speaking do emphasize individuality, but in a manner different from the way on which Anglos emphasize it. That while Anglos emphasize individual initiative, it is a socialized initiative calling for self-expression within certain limits. The Chicano individual may transcend these limits, and emphasizing the element of personalism, place loyalty on an individual basis. The Spanish-speaking individual is, first, himself and second a social entity (9:Ch2). Yet, Hernandez, in talking about the family structure of the Chicano presents a completely different view that is quite opposite to what Edmondson is saying. Hernandez states that a Chicano is thought of first as a Gonzalez or a Sanchez, and only secondly as a Francisco or a Maria! (13:21)

Madsen, on attitude of Chicanos toward fatalism, states that it is generally believed that the fortune of the individual is predestined that every occurrence in human existence comes to pass because it was fated to do so. That fate is a mechanism of God's will. Madsen also ties the concept of time to fate. Since God, rather than man, is seen as controlling events, Chicanos lack the future orientation of the Anglo and his passion for planning ahead (17:Ch. 2-12).

Anglos like to keep busy—they are doers, says Saunders. As a group they see industriousness as a virtue. Work is a value in itself, and if it has any meaning beyond itself, it is that it is a road to success. Idleness is considered to be very close to sinfulness, and every moment of time must be utilized, for "time is money" (21:34). To the Spanish-speaking, however, work is simply the lot of man—a necessary burden. The Spanish-speaking home stresses the notion that inactivity and leisure are in themselves worthwhile goals (12:38).

Madsen believes that Protestantism holds appeal for those members of the Chicano middle class who are seeking closer identification with Anglo ways of life (17:35). Burma believes that one reason Chicanos are discriminated is because they are Catholics in a predominately Protestant country (6 :55). But in their study of social mobility among Mexican Americans, Penalosa and McDonagh found that Catholics were more upwardly mobile than Protestants giving

no support to the belief that retaining Catholicism hinders upward mobility (34:498).

In the final analysis, it becomes very hard to describe the Chicano since in doing so, you create a stereotype. Hernandez (13:4) suggests that perhaps the best way to consider the Chicano is in terms of the degree of acculturation. Visualize the degree of acculturation in a continuum, with one extreme, individuals recently arrived from Mexico, and on the other extreme, individuals well acculturated—having gained a knowledge of English and their attitudes and behavior patterns being more consistent with those of the dominant Anglo culture. The only flaw to this theory is that Chicanos at the end of the continuum where the individual has gained a good command of English, knows the Anglo culture well, understands the Anglo attitudes and values, are saying they are not ready to give up their heritage, culture, language or customs. They are truly bilingual/bicultural people that want to stay that way. They feel that this is a pluralistic country made up of all kinds of different ethnics and the theory of the melting pot belongs to the domain of myth and cultural misperceptions.

The Chicano community has a tacit awareness of its own isolation. Years of such awareness have taught its members the methods and techniques necessary to avoid feelings of inadequacy—to survive. Yet, many of these self-protective mechanisms have been labeled by the dominant culture as complacent, lazy, passive, indifferent. The up-

surge in the Civil Rights movement and the increasing number of educated and successful Chicanos are erasing such sterotypes and misconceptions. In fact, they are and always have been interested in education, in achievement, in equal opportunity, in labor conditions, politics, in contributing to the community and their country. Unfortunately, the tools necessary to attain equal standing have not always been at their disposal. There have been handicaps dating back to a period of history when the dominant culture first began to impose its attitudes, customs, and values on Chicanos. Rarely, too, has the dominant society exerted itself to try to understand and respect the fact that the values and attitudes of Chicanos are different, not inferior—different (13:5).

C. The Family of the Chicano— Myth, Stereotype, and Truth

The family is the most valued institution in the Chicano society. It provides a foundation for the young Chicanito of emotional and material security that remains with him for the rest of his life. The family gives the Chicano a sense of being—an identity. Once these facts are understood by the school (all school personnel), a clear picture evolves that the school is not a stage in the Chicano youngster's life so much as a means toward an end. It also means that many concepts and organizations such as P.T.A., school clubs, school spirit and so forth, are WASP

values, and have little meaning to all except WASP's. Some Chicanos that are well across the continuum of acculturation buy the concepts; however, many of today's Chicanos are not quite ready to become that acculturated.

Knowledge of the Chicano family structure provides insight into many problems which may be faced by teachers in the classroom—such as interest in school, absenteeism, student dependency on being told what to do and how to do it, lack of initiative, truancy, and so forth. The following is a brief discussion of the basic organization of the Chicano family. The organization is patriarchal. The father is the head of the family, and basically the main provider. In today's world, it is not rare to see in a family the father, mother and part of the family all working for the welfare of the family. Like many other societies, the girls look to the mother for guidance and direction, the boys try to emulate the father (13:20-21). We have many adolescent psychologists today who tell us that when the youngster gets too attached to the opposite sex parent, it enhances the opportunity for youngsters to have problems of identification later on in life. This is one phase of family rearing that is very strictly done by the Chicano family—permissiveness is not tolerated at all. Once the youngsters grow and embark in the institution of matrimony, both know their roles quite well. Both the male and the female honor their mate's role and respect it. <u>They do not compete with each other</u>! They enhance each other's role. Both know

their roles and perform them to the best of their ability. Albeit the father makes the decisions for the family, the family contributes to that decision, directly or indirectly. The father is the direct disciplinarian of the family; the mother, the indirect disciplinarian. The father, after calling attention to deviations in behavior by the children more than once usually resorts to the use of corporal punishment. Mothers seldom use corporal punishment. The size of the family is a major factor that must always be considered when working with Chicano youngsters. The oldest male carries the responsbility of the home in the absence of the father. Girls are expected to assist in the management of the home, including caring for younger siblings. This often happens when there is no father in the home and the mother has to go out to work. One should not forget that with Chicano youngsters, their needs are quite complex. In addition to being culturally different, they also carry the pains and sorrows that accompany growth and development. Puberty in any culture is not without a multitude of traumas. They are also subject to all other variables that exist in any regular classroom situation, such as ability spectrum, health, family crisis, physical appearance, facing standardized tests designed for Anglos, insensitive teachers and administrators, etc. For the Chicanos, these factors are exaggerated because of the inevitable comparison and contrast with the Anglo-American

enclave in the public schools (13:24).

Many articles and publications have been written on the Chicano—mainly by non-Chicanos. Stereotypes and misconceptions about the Chicano continue to be perpetuated. The concept of Machismo (manliness) has been described in many different ways. Madsen (17:25) says that the Chicano Machismo outweighs all other aspects of prestige next to devotion to the family. That the male is stronger, more reliable, and more intelligent than the female. That demonstrating his sexual prowess by seeking extra-marital affairs is viewed as an affirmation of his manliness and is a means of winning him prestige among his male acquaintances. That maintaining a mistress in a second household is the most convincing way of proving his Machismo and his financial ability. The Chicano is no more polygamous than the Anglo or anybody else. Maintaining a mistress is no more of a great revelation than amongst the WASP, the Blacks, or any other ethnic group. In this country instead of calling it Machismo, the male is called "Sugar Daddy." Madsen (17:25) also states that on the other hand, the Chicana must ideally be a model of purity. That the wife owes her husband absolute sexual fidelity. This writer has always though that all wives, regardless of ethnic group, were supposed to be sexually faithful to their husbands all the time!!!

D. And Then a Different Voice Speaks

Throughout the last four or five decades, a tiny trickle of articles on the Chicanos has made its appearance on the literary world. Unfortunately, just about all of the authors of such works have been non-Chicanos. It now appears that publishers are finally beginning to publish articles on Chicanos written by Chicanos or at least collaborated by Chicanos. For unknown reasons, this practice is beginning to change and more and more Chicano authors are finding their place as authors and writers in the literary world. One such giant is Professor Octavio I. Romano-V, a most articulate critic and anthropologist at The University of California, Berkley. Speaking on Chicanos, Romano states that the dominant American society has produced a philosophy which explains into oblivion the "oppressive and exploitative factors" which perpetuate the economically impoverished condition of this minority group, along with its refusal to adhere to the majority patterns and life styles. He continues that this rhetoric states that "Mexican Americans are simple-minded but lovable and colorful children who because of their rustic naïveté, limited mentality, and inferior, backward "traditional culture" choose poverty and isolation instead of assimilating into the American mainstream and accepting its material riches and superior culture. He charges strongly that through formulation and propagation by social scientists, "those intellectual mer-

cenaries of our age," the stereotyped rhetoric has been given professional certification and institutional sanctity to the degree of currently holding wide public acceptance and constituting the prevalent image of Mexican Americans. He describes this social science rhetoric as a "grand hoax" of an intellectually spurious and vicious character, covered by esoteric and sanctified verbal garb (35:2).

Dr. Romano has written a review essay (36:13-26) elucidating weaknesses in studies conducted by social scientists--especially anthropolotists and sociologists--about Mexican Americans. To the anthropologist Madsen (17:Ch 7-12), he states, "Mexican American culture represents a retreat, where as acculturation represents creativity and change," and that it is through "bi-polar dichotomies such as this that the notion of the passive Traditional Culture is perpetuated." He further writes that in 1946, the sociologist Ruth Tuck wrote that "for many years, the Mexican immigrant and his sons made no effort to free themselves. They burned with resentment over a thousand slights, but they did so in private . . . . Perhaps this passivity is the mark of any minority which is just emerging." (26) Tuck in effect "wiped out history," writes Romano; her opinion of Mexican Americans dominated social science literature thereafter. Of the work of the sociologist Lyle Saunders (1954) (21:36), Dr. Romano charged that, as Tuck before him, Saunders rewrote history, perpetuating the notion of an "ahistoric people, . . . the

Mexican lazily asleep under the cactus in the popular and ignorant mind." Following Saunders' work was that of M. S. Edmondson (9 :Ch. 2), who Romano accuses of obliterating history and simultaneously classifying the people of New Mexico as basically un-American, as Tuck and Saunders did before him. Edmonson, he reports, asserts that a fatalistic acceptance of things which "just happen" precisely expresses the Mexican attitude: Hispanos give a characteristic shrug of acceptance of death and illness as inevitable.

Focusing on Florence Rockwood Klukhohn (15) and Fred L. Strodbeck's 1961 report, which mirror's Edmondson's study, Romano emphasizes that the Kluckhohn-Strodbeck section on Hispanos in New Mexico is founded on a sample of 23 in a community of 150 persons. "Then this minute sample is used to describe Mexican and New Mexican value orientations for the past 400 years. It is important to keep this fact in mind in view of Celia Heller's subsequent study of Mexican Americans which relies heavily on the Kluckhohn sample of twenty-three, and also the Samora-Lamanna Chicago study of Mexican Americans which accepts the same views without question" (37:17). Romano adds that the historically distorted studies of Tuck, Saunders, Edmondson, and Kluckhohn-Strodbeck are widely accepted in anthropology and sociology departments in United States' colleges and universities; there, he states, they have become authoritative sources of Mexican Americans for a wide range of institutional agencies including medical schools,

social welfare departments, departments of employment, and other government agencies.

Commenting on Celia S. Heller's work (12:5), Romano asserts that in fewer than 40 pages that sociologist has in effect said that Mexican Americans are not Americans, that they all are virtually alike that they tend to talk with a foreign accent, that they are handicapped by their own families, that their sons are helpless victims of the indulgence of parents which is retarding and that they fatalistically resign themselves to this "cultural miasma."

In a recent study by Wages, Sherry, et. al. (41), dealing with Mexican American teenage drop-outs, it was found that most aspire to at least complete high school. They also find that the Mexican American culture values formal education— thus, challenging the assertions by Anderson and Johnson (39:1) to the contrary. Wages, et. al., also found out that Mexican American girls are not as likely as other girls to give marriage as a prime reason for leaving school. This puts into question another popular belief about the Mexican American female as sheltered, submissive, etc., which has been part of the perpetuated sterotype. If she's dropping out of school (for reasons which must also be explored) and she's not intent on getting married, she apparently wants to find employment which is not typical of a sheltered, submissive, marriage oriented female.

In short, through the literature runs a common stereotype thread which has been taken for truth, built upon

and perpetuated by social scientists through the decades. The Chicano has been portrayed as belonging to a group of people,with traits ranging from laziness, lack of achievement, ahistoricism, and fatalism, to filling social roles and postions passively and statically, and in isolationism from the rest of civilization. Only a very few recent studies have dared to challenge these past imbedded assertions. Chicanos are beginning to academically review past and current research, in order to destroy the fabrication which has become immortalized in the name of social science and consulted as authoritative information on Chicanos.

E. Summary

This chapter was concerned with related literature. The areas examined thoroughly were the education of the Chicano, specifically in the Southwest—yesteryear and today, the socio-economic conditions of the Chicano, a look at the Chicano culture and his value system, stereotypes, myth, and the Chicano family. An attempt has been made to present a complete cross section of present day authors as well as authors from the past twenty to thirty years.

As seen in these writings, there are great differences as reported by the investigators. Interpretations differ from author to author and in some cases, their findings are diametrically opposite to each other. As studies on this subject continue, the differences will, hopefully, continue to narrow and the similarities will widen. It is

the intent of this study to shed additional light to this most important segment of our American society. Further intent of this study is to stimulate and challenge additional investigators for further studies on this subject.

CHAPTER III

Methodology of the Study

A. The School Districts Investigated

The two school districts that were investigated are about the same size in school enrollment. Both school districts have enrollments of nearly 2,800 students and both districts are over 85 percent Chicano children.

1. Town X

The faculty of Town X consists of 41 percent Chicano, 1.4 percent other minorities and 57.6 percent Anglo. The superintendent and 90 percent of the administration is Anglo; the rest is Chicano. In 1970, the Chicano faculty consisted of 21.1 percent—almost half of what it is today. The composition of the administration has changed very little in the last four years. The most dramatic change came about this current year. The School Board is composed ethnically of five Chicanos and two Anglos. The overall socio-economic picture has not changed much in the last five years.

The curriculum of the school district is a typical, standard, state-approved, very much like any one found in any part of the state. It is geared to the white, middle

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class, Anglo Saxon Protestant child of Texas. Any and all changes in this town come slow and most reluctantly. In education, specifically, the changes are even slower; however, this is not especially enlightening, since educators have proved themselves through the years to be notoriously hesitant to any and all changes—"especially at home."

2. Town Y

In the last five years, the Chicano faculty has gone from less than 10 percent to over 90 percent. The administration has also gone from less than 10 percent to over 90 percent in the last five years. The School Board is 100 percent Chicano—five years ago it was 100 percent Anglo. Like Town X, the over all socio-economic picture has not changed much in the last five years.

The curriculum of this school district has changed most dramatically. From a typical WASP-oriented curriculum, it is now geared to the particular needs of the present student body that is, it is minority oriented. An elementary as well as a secondary bilingual program make up part of the regular curriculum. This school district also has the bilingual faculty to go along with its curriculum.

This community as well as the school personnel really does believe in change. All changes to improve the total school are the direct result of the cooperative and collaborative efforts of the school and community.

B. Instruments Used

1. The Student Questionnaire

A student questionnaire was developed to assist with the interviews of the children. The children selected were sixth graders. The sixth graders were selected because the highest percentage of Chicano students that leave school is between the seventh and the twelfth grade. Starting with 50 questions, taken from a multitude of survey instruments for children, 37 questions were selected for this instrument. The initial instrument was field-tested in another South Texas border town that has a population ethnic balance similar to the two towns that were researched. The questionnaire was designed to reflect the feelings the child had toward his school environment, community, school personnel and peer group. In addition, it was the design of the questionnaire to acquire his perception of how he feels the school personnel and school environment behave toward him. The questionnaire also tapped the self-image and level of confidence of the student. It also sought information on age, sex, and number of siblings in the child's family.

2. The Questionnaire for Parents

The questionnaire for the parents was designed to

reflect the feelings of today's parents toward the educational system in reference to:

(a) Faculty and administration working together toward the education process for the improvement of the education of their children;

(b) The effect of impact the "power structure" has on the educational system;

(c) Community involvement in the total educational process;

(d) Equal educational opportunity for all the children of the system;

(e) Bilingual/bicultural education;

(f) Overall view and future of their educational system.

The questionnaire sought age range, sex, and area where parents were from. The interview was conducted at a time and place convenient to the parent so that there was no limit on time. The place chosen was the choice of the parent, and the climate of the interview was one of relaxation, ease, and friendliness. Not a single complaint was registered during all the interviews with the parents.

3. The Faculty and Administration Questionnaire

This questionnaire reflects their sex, age range and the area from which they came. Again consisting of ten basic questions, the questionnaire was developed to reflect the feelings of the faculty and administration as

to working conditions among the faculty themselves vis-a-vis the administration; feelings of the power structure of the community; feelings of community involvement; bilingual/ bicultural education; and overall feelings of the future of their school system. As with the parents' questionnaire, the site of the interview was selected by the participant. Every effort was made by the interviewers for a comfortable easy-going, interesting, and productive interview.

4. The Questionnaire of the "Power Structure" Personnel

Personnel selected for this questionnaire were the following: the superintendent, assistant superintendent, school board members, political power structure members (mayor, councilmen, etc.), and directors of the various departments and areas in the school organizational structure. The questionnaire identified the age range, sex, and where they came from. Ten basic questions were asked of the faculty and administration. All the questionnaires are included in the appendix of this research.

C. Test Results

Both districts use national standardized instruments at the sixth grade level. They both use the Stanford achievement series. This research will attempt to compare only the reading level of sixth graders from both districts.

At present, many Chicano educators are seriously questioning the validity of standardized tests results on

Chicano children. It is contested that these instruments are really not valid for this type of children and that the results are inaccurate and unfair to Chicanos. It is believed that unless the test designers reconsider many factors heretofore neglected, forgotten, or purposefully omitted, the end product of using standardized tests on Chicanos will only produce distorted results. Coupled with subtle as well as outright blatant discrimination and unfairness, standardized tests can be nightmares to Chicano children.

One of the really big questions facing schools today in reference to test results is "who tests the children, who interprests the results, and how are the results used by the schools?" Most of the tests used in schools today are administered by school counselors; however, many tests are administered by teachers and administrators. The clinical instruments are usually administered and used by school psychologists and are mostly used in special education. The bulk of standardized tests are administered by school counselors, scored by a testing firm or University, interpreted by counselors, and used very little by school districts. As stated by the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights Report VI, there are two main factors that affect Chicano children vis-a-vis counseling and standardized tests. One factor is the present feeling of Chicano educators toward standardized test results as discussed above. The other factor pertains to the counseling services available to Chicano children. There are very few Chicano counselors available.

Counselors can play a very important role in facilitating the school success of Chicano students. In the Southwest, in districts of 10 percent or more Chicano students, the pupil-counselor ratio in the secondary school is 471:1; in the elementary, an astonishing 3,843:1. With these statistics in mind, the fact that the majority of these counselors are Anglo, what chance does a Chicano child have? Isn't it a miracle that Chicanos can hang-on until graduation against all these odds? No wonder drop-out rates of Chicanos in the Southwest are so high even today!

D. The Interviews

1. The Selection of the Children Interviewed

The children were selected by using the random technique of picking out every fifth Chicano child in the sixth grade. The goal was to select fifteen Chicano children and arrange an appointment with each child. Every child was explained the why, how, when and what of the interview. Any child not wanting to participate in this study was excused. We had only one child in Town X that did not want to participate in the study and his wishes were respected. Once the appointment was made, the schools offered great cooperation by making available quiet and very private rooms for the interviews. Most of the children were seen during school time. All parents concurred with child's participation in the study. The majority of

the parents showed enthusiasm in their children's participation in the study. Not a single parent refused to have his child participate.

2. Selection of the Parents to be Interviewed

The selection of the parents to be interviewed was easy once the children were selected. An attempt was made to select an equal number of mothers and fathers in the sample. Unfortunately, many fathers were not available and more mothers than fathers were interviewed.

3. Selection of Faculty and Administration

Persons interviewed were the superintendent, his assistant, elementary principals, special directors of the various departments, and as many teachers as possible. This group proved quite inaccessible. In Town X, this group was most reluctant to talk and to express its feelings, even when it knew that its identity would be held in confidence. In Town Y, this group was just the opposite. They gave much of their time and provided a lot of information.

4. Selection of the "Power Structure"

This group was sought by "shooting for all" and hoping for a few. It is a very busy group, representing diverse occupations and almost inaccessible. A cross section of this group was interviewed; it turned out to be an adequate number. Those interviewed appeared sincere and were

succinct with their remarks.

5. Summary of the Interviews

The interviews proved to be interesting, exciting, and most revealing. Once rapport was established with the children, the interviews were a real delight. One can be amazed by what children can say if given the time and encouragement to talk. Fortunately, all the interviewers were bilingual, and this factor made the children much more comfortable. Occasionally, the children would say a word in Spanish to better describe what they really felt or meant to say. The image identification of student and interviewer also helped the interview to progress smoothly.

With the parents, the interviews were a real opulent experience. Contrary to the misconception that poor people and, especially Chicano parents are not interested in the education of their children, these parents talked freely and most encouragingly about their children's education. They wished only the best for their children's success in school and their continuance through high school and on to college or university. As will be discussed in Chapter IV, the results of these interviews certainly tell a different story than the regular concepts expressed by many investigators as per Chapter II.

The interviews with the "power structure" proved little surprise as was expected. The interviewees were hard to corner; they proved to be extremely busy people; they

tried to cover much in little time. A political aura transcended their entire message. Even so, there is much difference in the data of one town compared to the other.

In the faculty and administration interviews, there was a great difference in the responses of one town versus the other. In Town X, some of the principals were most hesitant to speak and express their feelings. An air of suspicion seemed to cover the interviews. Some went so far as to take the questions home and return the next day for the interview. In interviewing the teachers of Town X, one felt as if the teachers were not very free in expressing their true feelings about ths schools. This feeling in Town Y did not exist with either the teachers or the administrators. There was a very distinct difference in responses between the two groups. Throughout all the interviews, the assurance of confidentiality of the study was impressed upon all the personnel involved.

E. Chapter Summary

In this chapter the entire process utilized in this research is presented. There is a brief description of the two towns and the school districts. The administration and teaching faculties, the school boards, and the curricula of the two school districts are discussed.

The instruments used are then discussed. Their development and rationale is explained.

A discussion of test results follows. The use of standardized tests has been and continues to be a very controversial subject. Even among Chicano educators, we find opposing opinions, not to mention those between Anglos and Chicanos. Much research is needed in this area, however, more and more Chicano and Anglo educators are sitting down today to discuss their different opinions and why they think the way they do. Not too long ago, these same educators did not communicate.

A thorough discussion of the interviews follows. Items discussed are the following: the selection of the children to be interviewed, the interview setting, intent of the interview and the general results. The selection of the parents comes next, followed by the faculty and administration, and closing with the "power structure" of the respective towns.

The summary of the interviews is then discussed. Mention is made of specifics that occurred during the various interviews. This phase of the research was a real revelation to the interviewers and the author.

CHAPTER IV

Results and Observations of the Study

A. Student Questionnaire and Interview Results

The results of the interviews with the children reveal very interesting data. First, the results will be discussed separately by towns and then will be compared between the two towns in the next chapter.

1. Town X

In Town X, 15 sixth grade Chicano children were interviewed—7 girls and 8 boys. The average age of the children was 12.0 years. Each child had an average of 6.25 brothers and sisters. Of the group, 86 percent of the families own their homes; 80 percent of them buy groceries with food stamps.

When asked about attending kindergarten, 64 percent of the children responded positively. In attempting to determine their feelings as to ethnic identity, the results were as follows: one chose Black to best describe herself, two chose White, four chose American Indian, and eight chose Other (Chicano, Mexican-American, Indian, Spanish Surnamed, etc.). A point of explanation is in order at this time. Among people of La Raza, it is not uncommon for a man

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to refer to his wife as prieta or negra which mean "dark one." A literal translation of negra would be "black one." This is also done by a wife or friend addressing her husband or boyfriend as negro. This is done with much affection, and reference to the color black is not intended. It is quite possible that the little girl interviewed was referring to herself as negra as explained above. Insofar as the other responses of White and American Indian, it is quite interesting since Native Americans are quite rare in this part of Texas, and White is for Anglos exclusively—with extremely few exceptions.

When asked which kind of school they would prefer if allowed to choose, 80 percent chose one with a mixture of different kinds of children. When asked how their parents felt about their going to school with both Anglo and Chicano student, 73 percent responded that it didn't matter to their parents. This group of children felt that neither Chicanos nor Anglos cause any trouble in school; however, 10 percent thought that teachers were unfair to Chicano students.

When asked if they thought Anglo people were smarter than Chicanos, 41 percent said yes. Only 21 percent of the children said their principal knew them by name.

To the question, "do you like your teacher," 93 percent said yes; 82 percent thought their teacher liked them. When asked about "getting blamed for things that just aren't your fault," 33 percent (all boys) responded yes.

In questioning the students concerning reading and

arithmetic, 71 percent said that these subjects were not too difficult for them. When asked if they received special help on their reading from a teacher or someone else at school, 33 percent said yes; for arithmetic, 21 percent said yes. Please note reading results for this town in the latter part of this chapter.

This group was 100 percent unanimous in their feelings about belonging in their school; 92 percent were satisfied with themselves, and 93 percent were happy going to their school.

When asked about college plans, 85 percent said they were going to college. All the boys interviewed said they were going to college. To the question "How do you go to school?" 71 percent said they went by car, 14 percent walked, and 14 percent by school bus.

2. Town Y

There were 17 sixth grade Chicano children interviewed in this town, 10 males and 7 females. The average age was 12.1 years old. Each child had an average of 6.4 siblings and 86 percent attended kindergarten. With regard to identity, 94 percent said they were Chicanos or Mexican-Americans and only one girl said she was an American Indian. Over 76 percent of the parents of this group own their homes, and 59 percent buy groceries with food stamps.

There were 70 percent who said that the principal

knew them by name, 95 percent thought their teacher liked them, and 100 percent liked their teachers. Of this group, 100 percent felt they belonged in their schools, 100 percent were happy in their schools, and 76 percent were satisfied with themselves.

When asked what school would they choose if they could pick the school of their choice, 53 percent said they would choose one with a mixture of different kinds of children, and 47 percent said they would choose one with all Mexican-American or Chicano students.

In this group, 35 percent of the children said their parents liked the idea of going to school with both Anglo and Chicano students; 53 percent felt that it didn't matter to their parents. Insofar as their principal was concerned, 35 percent felt that the principal liked the idea of both Anglos and Chicanos going to school together, and 65 percent felt indifferent to the matter. This group also felt that Anglo or Chicano students do not cause any trouble in school. When asked if they thought Anglo people were smarter than Chicanos, the response was 94 percent no, 6 percent yes.

When asked if their teachers or someone else at school helped with reading, 47 percent said yes; for arithmetic, 53 percent said yes. To the question, "How do you get to school," 69 percent responded that they got to school by car, and only 31 percent walked or went by bicycle. Of this group, 75 percent indicated that they were going to college.

B. The Parents' Interview and Questionnaire Results

The results of the parents' interviews and questionnaire will be discussed separately. In the following chapter, a comparison of the two results will be made.

1. Town X

Fifteen parents were interviewed for this study. An attempt was made to see as many fathers as mothers. The final sample consisted of 11 mothers and only 4 fathers. Many of the fathers work in places that are distant and either stay away all week or leave at dawn and return late at night.

To the question on whether they felt there was satisfaction between the faculty and administration, the answers were quite varied: 40 percent said yes, 36 percent said they didn't know, and 33 percent said there was no satisfaction between faculty and administration. Upon further probing of the group that said there was no satisfaction between faculty and administration, these common comments surfaced: (a) the principals are discriminating against the children, and (b) they tell the students that they are "dirty and smell." During open house, explanations and speeches are in English; this excludes all parents that speak only Spanish from participating. It also adds to the gap between school and community. When there is a population

of over 85 percent Chicano, there are many, many parents that speak only Spanish and, thus, are excluded from participation in English dialogue.

The "power structure," responded to the second question as follows: 43 percent said that the "power structure" did have an impact on the school program as a whole; 57 percent said that they didn't know. Of the group that said that the power structure did have an impact, remarks were made as follows: the school administration listens only to them; only the people with money get preference, and only the people who can articulate and speak good English receive attention.

When asked if the place where the faculty and administration were reared and educated have a bearing on their feelings toward children and affect the learning of children, the response was 66 percent yes, 33 percent no. The typical positive response was that the local people know the customs, culture, and mores of the area, while personnel from out-of-area do not. On the negative side, the response was that outside-of-area people could be more objective and treat the children better. Some said that outside-of-area personnel had less bias and treated the children more fairly.

The question "Does the education of the parents affect the aspiration level of the achievement of the children" drew the following responses: 13 percent yes, 87 percent no. People responding "yes" indicated that they

could not help the children with school work, and that the children like their parents dropped school and went to work. Of the persons that responded "no" to this question, a common response was that they value education even though they didn't go to school. Also, since the parents didn't get a formal education and went through the bad experience of encountering rejection, discrimination, underachievement, unemployment and underemployment, they were going to make sure that their children did not go through the same negative experience. These thoughts were emphasized by the parents.

In assessing their comminity, the parents enumerated many factors, both good and bad. On the positive side, the people of their community were friendly, good stamp programs, good medical public health clinics, and a school board beginning to listen to the public. On the negative side of their community, parents listed no recreational facilities for the children, corporal punishment at school, long bus routes, bad school buildings, high unemployment for adults, no part-time jobs for students, and a high student drop-out rate. Their negative list was far more than their positive list.

When asked if they would move to another community if money were no object, the response was 15 percent yes and 85 percent no. Many people still have relatives in Mexico. For this reason and for wanting to stay close to their relatives and friends of the Valley of Texas, they overwhelmingly said

they would prefer not to move to another community. A majority of parents were mothers who stated that it was up to their husbands. They felt that their husbands would not move for the above given reasons. These people migrate up "north" for the spring and summer, but by fall, they are back home again.

Satisfaction with the present educational system was 40 percent, dissatisfaction 50 percent. The ones who were satisfied specified that they responded "yes" because of the changes taking place during the last few years. In the last five years, as mentioned earlier in this study, there have been changes in school personnel, mainly in the hiring of more Chicano teachers. Between 1970 and 1974, the number of Chicano teachers has doubled from 21 percent to 42 percent. The Assistant Superintendent, a Chicano, was hired this present school year. Very few comments surfaced. Some of these comments are the following: the only time teachers communicate with the parents is for disciplinary problems, the curriculum is bad (no les enseñan nada—they don't teach them anything), there is segregation among the schools, only Chicano children are retained, parent participation at school board meetings is discouraged and girls' P.E. classes are bad. The open stall-type shower has always been a point of contention between the schools and the Chicano family. It is against the culture for girls to bath openly even when there are only girls around. Recognition of this Chicano custom and subsequent action has not

taken place in the public schools.

There was a consensus with regard to the lunch program. Parents say that it is the same food, the same menu, all Anglo food, and ill-prepared. Many children do not eat the food because it is very foreign to them. Parents attached the number of drop-outs and suspensions for no apparent reason, claiming that many drop-outs were really caused by the teachers. They claim that the migrant school, named "Migrant School," should have the name changed. Children attending this school are considered dummies by students attending other schools in the town.

All the parents were positive on bilingual programs and expressed their desire for continuance and expansion. Some had not heard about the programs, except for the fact that they had seen some bilingual programs on educational television which endorsed this type of education.

Over 73 percent of the parents feel their children are receiving equal educational opportunities; however, they feel the opportunities are limited and quite restricted. Some feel that the migrant children received more benefits than the regular children since the migrant students get free clothing, and supplies, plus lunch and snacks. The regular children do not.

There was a 100 percent agreement on the community being involved with the on-going school program. Parents feel that they need to know what their children are doing at school and what the schools are teaching their children.

Many suggest that meetings be held on the weekends so they can attend. These meetings should be held in English and Spanish. Meeting notices on time and date should be distributed by the children to their parents in both English and Spanish. There is definitely no communication between the school and the parent. The PTA is ineffective, focusing all its efforts on material things for the school while ignoring the curriculum of the school, the teacher-student relationship, the parent-teacher relationship, the teacher-administration attitudes, etc. Some parents feel very strongly about this, but do not know the method and/or procedure to go about letting the school authorities know these concerns.

2. Town Y

Twenty-one parents were interviewed in this town. They were the parents of the 17 students interviewed. The composition of the parents was 8 males and 13 females. Their average age was 39.5 years.

Over 80 percent of these parents feel that there is satisfaction with faculty and administration as to the on-going educational program. They feel that there is input from the teachers to the policy-making process of the school system. There was only one negative response from all the parents interviewed.

To the second question on impact of the power structure on the direction of the school program as a whole, 90 percent of the parents feel that the power structure is

the voice of the people and really represent them in looking after the needs of the children. They feel that the program has improvements to make, but that it is getting better and better every year. They also feel that now the power structure is composed of Chicano members that represent the people of the town which is 90 percent Chicano. Five years ago, the power structure had no Chicanos in decision-making positions.

The responses to the question on "does it make a difference where the faculty and administration were reared and educated have a bearing on the feeling toward the children and indeed affect the learning of the children," were divided between 66 percent saying yes and 33 percent saying no. Some parents felt that the system should have faculty and administration personnel from all parts of this country to enjoy and share their different backgrounds and experiences with all the children. Some felt that outside-of-area personnel do not know these children and their backgrounds and, as a result, will not understand them and could easily and inadvertently hurt them—not necessarily academically, but psychologically.

This group was divided just about 50-50 on the question of whether the education of the parents affects the aspiration level of achievement of the children. They felt that the degree of influence varies. Some children emulate their parents in many respects, including education; however, many children pursue education regardless of how much educa-

tion their parents have. Also, many parents who did not have much education have learned the value of education and strongly believe that education is the avenue for success and prosperity in this country and as a result will push and encourage their children with everything within their power. There were some that said that the job of the parents influences the decision of the children to study, that a truck driver's son might aspire to be only a truck driver. This hinders the true potential of the child.

The things that the parents considered good in their community were excellent community involvement in all school affairs, good health programs, good federal school programs, civic and church organizations helping the poor, good school changes, good public officials who represent all the people, excellent bilingual program in the school, and an all-out effort to make the town a happy, democratic and safe community to live in. On the negative side, the concern rested on the poor economic condition of the city, the need for more industries, and the Anglo attitude toward the Chicanos--of not really understanding La Raza and the Chicano movement.

When asked if they would move to another community, if money were no object, over 90 percent said they would not. The great majority said they believed in their community and were happy there. They acknowledged the presence of problems but felt that these problems were a challenge calling for solutions. Now that they have true representation in the schools as well as control of the power structure,

they feel things are going well. The only ones that said they they would move were the ones that want to expand La Raza philosophy and want to replicate their successes in other Texas communities.

Over 90 percent said they were satisfied with the educational system. They felt that there is room for improvement; however, the trend has been positive for the last five years. They feel that the parents as well as the students are heard, and that the school-student relationship has improved a thousand fold in the last few years. The parents feel very strongly that the educational system state-wide is not like their local system and that at the national level, it is also lacking much. On the negative side some parents feel that much work is needed with the curriculum at both the elementary and secondary levels and that the course selection at the high school level needs to be expanded.

To the question of equal educational opportunities for the children, over 90 percent of the parents responded affirmatively and less than 10 percent negatively. These parents feel that all the community is working together for the child; however, this is a very poor community, and state funds available are minimal. They all wish more funds would be available from the federal level to begin to bring about equity among all students of the state.

This group was 100 percent for the community to be involved with the on-going school programs. They feel that

with the parents involved, it gives the children confidence in themselves, improves the child-parent relationship, tells the parents who teaches their children and what, helps all the children of the community, and also improves the attitude of the parents toward the schools and education as a whole. The parents feel that in this community, the schools have gone out to the community instead of waiting for the community to come to the schools. One parent summed it by saying that working together will help everybody—the school, the children, and the community.

C. "Power Structure" Interview Results

The "Power structure" interviews were those of the superintendents, board members, and political "power structure" members available (mayor, councilman, etc.). Town X did not cooperate as did Town Y, thus the difference in the number interviewed.

1. Town X

All members of this group were males. Their age range varied from 20-60 years. With the exception of the superintendent, all were from the immediate area.

The feeling of this group regarding the administration and faculty working together was not unanimous; however, the majority, 80 percent, thought they did work well together. A small portion of the group, 20 percent, disagreed and stated that there definitely was room for improvement. Since

this is the first year for the superintendent, some members were optimistic but cautious concerning the over-all relationship between the administration and the faculty.

To the second question, the answers were quite varied and general. This group felt they had an impact on the school program since they formulate the school policies. With the hiring of more Chicano teachers, they felt they were heading in the right direction of bringing greater equity to the school system and meeting the needs of the children. The superintendent felt that all personnel were given an opportunity to contribute, albeit some board members did not say this. There definitely appears to be a wide range of perceptions on the school program among the board members.

Almost to a person, this group agreed that the place where the faculty and administration were reared and educated has a bearing on feelings toward children. Most members said that there is a need to have teachers from different parts of the country, yet, all claim that the local teachers better understand the children and are indeed more sensitive to their needs, culture, and language.

Over 80 percent of this group indicated that the educational level of parents does affect the aspiration level of the children. They stated that if there is no interest in education at home, that children from these homes will show no interest in education either. A small percentage of these interviewees indicated that education

of parents does not affect the aspiration level of children as long as the parents value and appreciate education.

The pluses and minuses of this group were as follows: on the positive side—friendliness of people, smallness of community, cooperation among people, local university, and better communication between students and faculty; on the negative side—low tax base, low socio-economic level, no industries, too many migrants, political apathy, lack of school facilities, and high unemployment.

There was a great range of answers to bilingual education by this group. Some felt that in the "wrong hands" it could be very detrimental to the school system and community. Others feel that it is long overdue and should be offered at all levels and subject areas. Because of the proximity of the Mexican border, these responses are quite revealing.

When asked if they were satisfied with the present educational system, over 80 percent said no. The majority said that one of the greatest dissatisfactions is the inadequate financing system in Texas which brings about non-equity of funds to the students in the state. They feel that the system needs additional facilities, staff development programs, curriculum revisions, flexibility of programs, etc. They have identified the problem areas.

This group was unanimous in the idea of the community involvement with the educational system; however, sentiments expressed in interviews contradict this statement. Appar-

ently, there is a gap in the communication of these two groups.

Most of this group feel that the children of this town are receiving equal educational opportunities; however, there are varied differences in the responses. Some say improvements are needed, that too many Chicano children do not participate in athletics, student government, and extra-curricular activities—— that there is a social clash among the student body. Others say that up to last year, the children were not getting a "fair shake" in school, but starting this year, they are. More Chicano teachers were hired this year, including a Chicano assistant superintendent, a first in this school district.

According to some members, the future of this school district is promising. Everybody hopes the system will improve, however, a statement of one of the board members raises some heavy doubts. He states, "Our system was primarily a college prep school. Counselors decided who was college material and who wasn't. If we can overcome this situation, the educational outlook for our school district is good." And to think that over half of the population of this town is migrant and the drop-out rate of Chicanos in Texas is at least 60 percent.

2. Town Y

All the group interviewed were local and were in the

age bracket of 20 to 50 years.

There was almost unanimity with this group on cooperation between the administration and faculty. Recognizing that there is always room for improvement, parents feel the school system is heading in the right direction. These parents feel that the educational programs meet the needs of the children. Also, they feel that if there is no satisfaction between faculty and administration, they will very soon hear from either group. The feeling is that everyone is working for the children and that and only that is the main goal.

This group feels that they do have an impact on the school program because they are involved at all phases of the program. They are not a "rubber-stamp" to the superintendent. They support and enhance the total educational process since they are also part of the community and represent all the community.

Over 77 percent of this group feels that the place where the faculty and administration was reared and educated does have a bearing on the feelings toward children and indeed affects their education. The majority feel that local people are better aware of local situations and can better understand their needs than people from other areas of the state of country. The rest feel that a sensitive teacher or administration can respond to the needs and attitudes of their children regardless where he/she comes from. One

member summed it up by saying that "the important thing to remember is that what is taught is the best for the child."

This group perceives that the parents' education level does affect the aspiration level of the children; however, in this community, it is inversely— the less education the parents had, the higher the aspiration level. This group feels that parents want the best for their children and education is a top priority. They definitely do not want their children to work as hard and for so little as they have.

In describing their community, one of the positive remarks was the excellent communication between the school and community. This group feels very proud of the great strides the school system has made and of the participation of the community to the total educational process. They feel they have great health clinics, great people, a great political situation where everybody gets heard, and a great child-school-community relationship. On the negative side, they claim few industries, low employment opportunities—a poor district.

On bilingual/bicultural education, the consensus is that it benefits all children, that a bilingual child is richer than a monolingual child, that this is the best thing that could happen to their school district. They feel that it is a tool and technique that liberates talent, ideas, and resources of children that had been heretofore innate in the child.

Community involvement with the educational system is unanimously endorsed by the group 100 percent. They feel that this involvement should have been present always and that it is a necessity. Schools need the community to fully function for maximum benefit of the child.

This group feels that the children of this community are receiving equal educational opportunities. This is not true in the rest of the state or nation. Funds are still the greatest problem to this district as well as to most present school districts in this area, or the rest of the state for that matter.

The education future of this school district looks great to these people. They feel they need to continue to improve, but feel they are heading in the right direction. They feel very strongly about the state's attitudes toward Chicanos.

D. The Results of the Faculty and Administration Interviews

In reporting the results of this group, the faculty and the administration members interviewed have been grouped.

1. Town X

This group consisted of fourteen members—seven males and seven females. Their age bracket ranged from 20 to 50 years. Ten persons were from this area, one was from another part of Texas and three were from out-of-state.

There were five Anglo and five Chicano faculty; the administration interviewed was 60 percent Anglo, 40 percent Chicano.

To the first question most of the administration feel that the faculty is 80 percent good and 20 percent bad. Funds are needed for faculty in-service training and added funds are needed for facilities. They claim they have an open policy for all faculty to have their input to policy making. One member of the administration feels that the administration is not interested in the needs of the children and should be replaced. The faculty was evenly divided on this question. Half feel that there is satisfaction between the faculty and the administration while half feel there isn't. The positive responses suggested great need for funds, classrooms, more faculty, and more interaction between faculty and administration. The negative responses list lack of communication between faculty and administration, bad books approved by administration and old and antiquated ideas of some of the administration. This group feels that they are not heard by the administration.

Does the "power structure" have an impact on the school program? The administration feels that the superintendent controls about 40 percent of the decisions of the school program while the board controls about 60 percent of the decisions of the school programs. The faculty is again split on this question. A little over 50 percent of the faculty feel that the "power structure" does have an impact

on the school system. They feel that the power structure sets all the school rules; however, they don't control or know what goes on in the schools. Many feel much cooperation is needed between the schools and the community. Almost half of the faculty feels that the school plans and policies are controlled by a select few; that the board is interested in their own jobs first and the schools last. There appears to be a very definite division in the thinking of this group.

To the question of where the faculty and administration were reared and educated and does this have a bearing on the feeling toward children and indeed affect their learning, the responses of the faculty and administration were really split. The administration feels that it does not matter where they were reared or educated. A small percentage said that it did matter, and that it indeed affected and influenced their attitude toward the children. The faculty on the other hand, 91 percent strong, said it does make a difference--completely opposite of what the administration said. The teachers were very open to this question. Most feel that teachers not from this area have different customs, values, and attitudes. Some teachers said this brought subtle prejudiced and biased behavior expressed against the Chicanos. In other cases, they mean well, but actually hurt children. Among the faculty, there appears hidden rivalry concerning misconceptions that exist between the Chicano and Anglo teachers.

On the question "does the education of the parents affect the aspiration level of achievement of the children," the administration responded 75 percent yes and 25 percent no. One response was that if people didn't get educated, they don't care if their children get educated. The faculty responded 60 percent yes, 40 percent no. Of the "no" responses, the faculty said most parents want their children to have a good education regardless of their own education—— that one does not have to be educated to know the value of education. Some teachers felt that some parents and children are not worried about getting educated because they can always live on welfare, a way of life to many people in this area. Others feel that many Mexican-American parents do not realize the importance of education, therefore, their children do not either. And since children emulate their parents, the children do not acquire a formal education either. One teacher said that most counselors advise the Chicano children to pursue vocational trades rather than academic disciplines because these students are better suited for vocational jobs.

In assessing their own community, the administration feels that this is a friendly place with good, friendly people, good spirit, and everybody knows everybody. They feel that there are few employment opportunities, bad enforcement of law on narcotics, and too many people pushing the Raza Unida party. Also, the faculty feels that this is a good friendly community, has good church groups, a good

boys club, and more Chicanos getting into the school system and city offices. On the negative side, they list no PTA, much poverty, low employment opportunities, private clubs for a few priviledged ones, and too much discrimination on both sides that keep the community split.

When asked if the opportunity presented itself, would they move to another job outside of education, 75 percent said no. When asked about moving to another school district, 100 percent said yes with some reservations—the main one being better pay. For the faculty, 60 percent said yes to the first part of the question, citing salary first opportunity second. As to the second part of the question, 80 percent said yes citing again salary, working conditions, progressiveness of the system and better relationship with the administration.

On the subject of bilingual education, the majority of the administration feels it is good for the children if the parents approve it. Yet, they have just started a bilingual program this year. The overwhelming majority of the faculty gave their approval on bilingual education. They feel it is very good to all the children both Anglo and Chicano children; however, they realize that more bilingual teachers are needed. Some feel that the administration gives lip service to bilingual education but does little to support it.

On the question of equal educational opportunities for the children, 75 percent of the administration said yes,

25 percent said no. The faculty responses were very different to those of the administration. They responded 20 percent yes, 80 percent no. The majority of the faculty feels that the children are being "short-changed" because the system lacks funds and does not provide the children with what other richer systems do. Funds to do a better job are lacking. This affects field trips, better facilities, limited curriculum, fewer books, etc. Some faculty members feel that irrelevant tests are administered to the children producing false and distorted results.

The majority of the administration feel that the community should be involved with the school programs. They feel however, that the community needs more information and unity before they can really get involved. The faculty is unanimous in its support for the community to get involved with the on-going educational programs. They also feel that if the administration does not change its traditional views, there will be a confrontation between the community and the administration. The faculty feels that basic changes in attitudes concerning the children have to come about, otherwise, a walk-out is going to occur.

With regard to the last question, the administration feels that the future is promising for the system. If a pending bond is passed, the future looks even brighter. The faculty is optimistic too; however, they also state that the system has to change some very traditional policies, recognize the need for more funds and hire better teachers.

2. Town Y

Twelve faculty and administration persons were interviewed in Town Y. There were nine Chicanos and three Anglos. Their age level ranged from the 20 to 50 year bracket. Eight come from this area and four from out of state.

According to the faculty, over 91 percent feel that there is satisfaction between the faculty and administration with regard to the entire educational program. They feel there are a few minor differences but not on the main and important issues. On the goal of meeting the needs of all the children and securing the best available educational program for the children, there is no difference of opinion between the faculty and the administration. The administration feels the same way, adding that the only reason they are not completely satisfied is because there is room for improvement and the system, being a poor system, cannot stop and relax to pat themselves on the back. They have to continue working to stay in line with today's progress.

When asked if the "power structure" has an impact on the school program, the administration responded unanimously that in their town, the people were the "power structure." Over 90 percent of the faculty feel that the "power structure" has an impact on the schools. However, they also feel that those in power care for the children and the school programs. They feel that La Raza has made great improvements for all

the children—making the system flexible and helping the children improve their self-image. It is the consensus of the faculty that together with the administration, positive changes have been formulated to benefit all the children.

The administration feels that where the faculty and administration was reared and educated does have a bearing on the feelings toward the children. In most cases, local persons know the children and parents better and can deal with the child's needs more adequately. Some administrators feel that it is still the land of the oppressed and the oppressor. The faculty also feels that where the faculty and administration was reared and educated has a direct bearing on the children. Also they feel that people from the area know and understand the problems and needs of the children and community better than people from outside of the area. They do recognize, however, that personnel who care for children and are sensitive to different needs and culture can positively influence and affect children.

To the question of education of the parents affecting the aspirational level of achievement of the children, the administration feels that it does affect the children—inversely. Most parents want the best education for their children, regardless of what type of education they had. The faculty was split on their feelings to this question. Over 60 percent said that the education of parents does affect the aspiration level of achievement of the children

and 40 percent said that it does not. The majority of the faculty, just like the administration, feels that parents want their children to receive the best education possible, especially the parents that had little or no education themselves. The parents that have received a formal education influence and affect the children. Overall, the faculty, even though split in their responses, actually is saying the same thing--that all parents want the best education for their children, regardless of how much education they received.

The administration assessed its community as follows: the positive factors are the pride of the Chicanos, the people's self-determination, the new direction of the school system, the open-mindedness of the people, and the activeness of the people to get involved for the benefit of all the community; the negative points are low tax base, poverty, low employment opportunities and the fact that some Chicanos do not understand the Chicano movement. The faculty praises the conscientiousness of the teachers and administration, the friendliness of the people, the cooperation of the parents, the health center, and the community involvement in the educational process. They list as negative the private school that opened to oppose the public schools, poverty, little industry, needed recreational facilities, large classes and need for teachers.

When asked if they would move to another job outside the field of education or to another school district, the administration responded 100 percent yes to both ques-

tions. The administration expanded their reaction by stating that they would move to other fields outside of education if the move would help La Raza. To the second question, the administration stated that they would move to other school districts in order to train more Chicanos to become school administrators and follow the Chicano movement. The faculty responded to the first question as follows: 22 percent yes, 78 percent no; to the second question, the response was 50 percent yes, 50 percent no. This faculty feels that they will move to help other Chicanos first; the pay issue is secondary. They realize the pay is minimum, and the working conditions are not the best here. However, they are happy, challenged, and feel they are contributing to a changing process that is taking place to benefit the children of the community.

The bilingual program is hailed here as a must by both faculty and administration. The administration feels it is long overdue, and endorses it 100 percent. They do feel that one must have the personnel trained to carry it out successfully. The administration feels it is great for all students, but it must be the maintenance type of bilingual education, not the transitional type. The faculty feels bilingual education is fantastic and desperately needed in this school district. They feel that improvements are needed: facilities, materials, and additional personnel.

To the question of the children receiving equal

educational opportunities, 100 percent of the administration said yes in this district, no, in the rest of the state. The faculty responded 70 percent yes, 30 percent no. They feel that in their district the children are receiving an equal educational opportunity, but no in other districts. What they also feel is that this is a very poor district and still needs additional personnel, facilities, and materials.

As to community involvement with the school program, the administration is 100 percent for such involvement. The faculty is also unanimous in its opinions. They feel that this is the only way the board will know what the community wants and needs for its children. They believe that a school system serves the community and both must work together to meet the needs of all the children. When a community is not involved, they feel the school system will suffer.

To the last question, the administration feels the future of the school systems looks very bright, financially bleak, but very politically Chicano. The faculty feels the outlook of this system appears good; that this school district has a chance of becoming an exemplary system of real, relevant education to students in the state of Texas.

E. Standardized Test Results On Reading Comprehension

The following test results were obtained by taking

the average of the scores of every fifth Chicano child in the 6th grade of the two school districts investigated.

1. Town X

The instrument used by this school district and test results is the Stanford Achievement Intermediate, Form W. The results follow in Table II.

TABLE II

STANDARDIZED TEST RESULTS OF TOWN X

Year Test Administered	Average Reading Comprehension Grade Level
1972	5.32
1973	5.09
1974	4.92

2. Town Y

This school district used the Stanford Diagnostic Reading Test to assess their children in reading for 1972 and 1973. In 1974, they used a different instrument called Informal Reading Inventory. The results are as follows in Table III.

TABLE III

STANDARDIZED TEST RESULTS OF TOWN Y

Year Test Administered	Average Reading Comprehension Grade Level
1972	3.90
1973	4.20
1974	4.50

F. Chapter Summary

In this chapter the results of the four interviews used in the study were presented, as well as, test results obtained by the use of standardized test instruments.

Each type questionnaire interview has been discussed separately, Town X first, followed by Town Y. A resumé was presented of the ten questions asked of each group being interviewed. No attempt was made to draw any comparison between the responses of Town X and Town Y. The same was done for the results of the standardized tests. All comparisons are made in Chapter V.

CHAPTER V

Summary, Conclusions, and Recommendations For Further Study

A Summary

In Chapter I, a short history of the Chicano—who these people are, where they come from, where they live, what some of their characteristics are, language, culture, and present status—is presented.

The problem and purpose of this investigation follows the introduction. The concern for the problem, the rationale for such a study and the purpose for undertaking this task is pointed out.

Next, the two selected towns are described on the basis of an on-site visitation made to observe the total environment. To obtain as true and as accurate a picture as possible of what really exists in these selected districts data is presented on size and composition of the community, socio-economic condition, student enrollment and total picture of the area. The total school population of the two school districts is almost identical.

The second chapter attempts to summarize the available literature that is related to the subject matter. To provide some organization in reviewing the literature, the chapter is broken down into the education of the Chicano

(with heavy emphasis on the Chicano of the Southwest), the socio-economic conditions of the Chicano, the culture, the value system, stereotypes, myth, and the family of the Chicano. Great effort is made to present the entire gamut of authors that have written on the subject of this study. As seen in this review of the literature, very few Chicano authors were quoted in the past. Only recently are books and articles by Chicanos beginning to make their appearance in the pedagogical field. The differences of the writers are quite obvious. Misconceptions and stereotypes are still very distorted, and the presentations by the investigators are quite varied. This author feels very strongly that as studies on this subject continue to be investigated, the differences will continue to narrow, and the similarities will widen. If the findings of this study enlighten and clarify concepts on the Chicano, fine; however, if these findings anger and/or challenge and stimulate someone to do additional studies on this subject, this too is the intent of the study. Much additional research is needed on this subject, for it is full of damaging stereotypes and misconceptions about this segment of American society.

The third chapter outlines the methodology of the study. It describes the two towns to be investigated and has an in-depth description of the composition of the school districts and their personnel-ethnically and numerically. The interview questionnaires are described with

regard to the intent of desired information and the rationale for the selection of the items in the questionnaire. This chapter continues with a brief discussion of test results, instruments used, the feelings of certain Chicano educators on this subject and who uses them and how. It closes with the method and process of selection of children, parents, faculty, administration, and "power structure."

The fourth chapter describes the results of the interviews-questionnaires and the results obtained from the standardized tests administered by the two school districts. The student interviews are described, and the results of the questionnaires are analyzed. Each school district is reported separately. The interviews-questionnaires of the parents are described and analyzed; again, it is reported separately. The "power structure" follows, with the administration and faculty group completing the list. The last part of this chapter consists of a brief discussion of the standardized test results and how the children achieved in each different school district in the last three years. Much research time has gone into this endeavor to present as accurate a picture as possible of the feelings the interviewers are trying to describe when responding to the questions posed. Many responses were in Spanish and had to be translated on the spot so as not to break the sequence and train of thought of the interview. Many of these interviews would not have been carried out were it not for the fact that the researchers were bilingual/bicultural and thoroughly familiar with the area

investigated. There are many words, idioms, and expressions that are very regional, and persons not familiar with this area would have a hard time understanding them fully.

B. Conclusions

In this study, an attempt has been made to investigate certain factors that can be associated with the failure of Chicano children to achieve academically in two school districts of Texas. This study is not an indictment of those School Districts in Texas with heavy Chicano student enrollment, but rather an attempt to uncover and highlight certain factors that can begin to highlight the academic achievement of Chicano students in these schools. The specific focuses of inquiry in the two districts are the interviews given Chicano children, their parents, administration and faculty, a cross-section of the "power structure," and an analysis of the sixth graders for the past three years as a means of comparing achievement between the Chicanos and the national norms established.

This study does not purport to be exhaustive, nor does it completely pinpoint the precise cause and effect relationship between particular conditions and practices and the schools' failure to provide equal educational opportunity. One fact is clear, as documented by the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, Report VI: Mexican American Education Study of 1974, and that is that the schools of the Southwest are failing in serving the Chicano students. In the five pre-

vious reports in this series, the U. S. Commission documented the extent to which Chicano children are segregated in the schools as well as the underrepresentation of Mexican Americans as teachers, school officials, and school board members. In its second report, the Commission documents the failure of schools to educate Chicanos as measured in terms of reading achievement, school holding power, grade repetition, "overageness," and participation in extra-curricular activities. The third report describes the exclusionary practices of schools in dealing with the unique linguistic and cultural characteristics of Chicano students. In the fourth report, the Commission examines the ways in which the Texas school finance system works to the detriment of districts in which Mexican American students are concentrated. The Commission's fifth report focuses on the pupil-teacher verbal behavior in the classroom, measuring the extent to which differences exist in the verbal interactions of teachers toward Chicano and Anglo pupils. As previously mentioned, the Commission reported that the unavoidable conclusion is that the schools are failing on all counts addressed.

In this study the present faculty and administration of the two school districts having a high concentration of Chicano students is examined. One district's faculty and administration reflects the composition of the student body, and the other does not. A group of Chicano students and their parents was interviewed for the purpose of sharing

with the interviewers their feelings and perceptions of the school system. A group of "power structure" personnel of each school district was interviewed for their thinking about their school districts. The study is concluded with an analysis of the results of standardized tests on the reading comprehension of Chicano students.

From the children's interviews, one quickly notices the difference in the self-concept identification of the children. In Town X, barely over 50 percent called themselves Mexican Americans, in Town Y, it was 94 percent. And these were 6th graders—12 year old children. This grade level was chosen because a heavy exodus from school occurs among Chicano seventh graders. When asked if they thought Anglo people were smarter than Chicanos, 41 percent of Town X children said yes with only 6 percent of Town Y children. In Town X, 21 percent of the children said the principal knew them by their names, while 67 percent of the Town Y children said the principal knew them by name. The great majority of children from both towns liked their teachers, felt they belong in their school and were satisfied with themselves. With these findings one begins to wonder why the difference in the performance of the two groups. Perhaps this is due to the fact that the faculty and administration of Town X does not reflect the composition of the student body while in Town Y it does. The responses of the children begin to raise serious questions as to how teachers and administrators really are perceived by the

children. Another puzzling finding is the response that 71 percent of the children in Town X and 69 percent of the children in Town Y go to school by car. It definitely supports the response from the parents that they are concerned and want the best education for their children, even if it takes personal monetary sacrifice.

The parents' interviews reveal that there is much dissatisfaction among parents in Town X concerning the relationship between faculty and administration. There were some highly indictable responses from over one-third of the parents concerning their faculty and administration. The parents in Town Y feel much more content with their faculty and administration. There is definitely a great difference in how these parents perceive their "power structure" in their respective towns. Town X people had only negative remarks while Town Y had very positive remarks. Town Y felt that the "power structure" is the voice of the people and really is looking after all the children of the community. Parents of both towns feel quite strongly that where teachers and faculty were reared and educated does make a difference in teaching their children. These parents also feel that the education of the parents does not necessarily affect the aspiration level of the child in school. Town X parents listed many more negative than positive responses about their community. One interesting difference surfaced when the parents enumerated the negative responses: (a) inadequate school buildings, (b) high drop-

out rates for Chicano students, (c) long bus routes, (d) corporal punishment. All four remarks are school related. Parents of Town Y mentioned negative remarks about their community, however, none were school related These feelings of the parents influence the children and are transferred from parent to child—either consciously or unconsciously. Both groups were quite strong in not wanting to leave their communities. The nearness to Mexico and their relatives is definitely one main reason, plus the fact that the concentration of Chicanos is the heaviest near the Mexican border. There was a great difference in the parents' response to their satisfaction of the present educational system. Town X responded 40 percent satisfied and 60 percent not satisfied, while Town Y responded over 90 percent satisfied. This difference leads one to question why this great difference to such an important question. Both group of parents like bilingual education; however, Town X just started theirs while Town Y started their bilingual program three years ago. The majority of the parents feel their children are getting equal educational opportunities; Town Y parents feel their children are getting equal educational opportunities at home only, not in the rest of the state. There was 100 percent agreement of both towns on community involvement. However, in Town X, it was felt that the reason parents do not show up at school meetings and functions is because they are

not advised of the meetings and because the meetings are held in English only. In Town Y, all the notices and announcements of meetings are held in both English and Spanish and attendance has risen to 100 percent. Schools that do not include the community do not accept its input are going to continue to experience problems. The schools need the community just as much as the community needs the schools. The provincial philosophy of yesteryear that the schools and their personnel know what is best for the community and need not involve the community is completely obsolete today. The feelings of the parents of the two towns show quite a difference on this topic and pose very basic questions concerning their own school districts.

There was no difference in the "power structure's" feelings of faculty and administration working together. Both groups feel local people better understand the children. As far as education of the parents affecting the aspiration level of the child is concerned, there was unanimity between the two groups of people that it does not. Both groups feel that they need more industries, better employment opportunities, and both have a low school tax base. There is a difference in the groups' perception of bilingual education—which proves the point that Town X is just starting a bilingual program while Town Y has had one in operation for some time. Bilingual education programs have to have community support. There must be a good relationship between the schools and the community for such a pro-

gram to achieve success. Both groups expressed their approval and support for community involvement with the school program. However, some of the parents of Town X expressed a feeling that contradicted this thought. Apparently, there is a communication gap between the parents of Town X and their "power structure." The future appears bright to both groups. The author feels Town X needs to bring about some basic changes, or the failure of reaching the needs of the Chicano children will continue.

The responses of the faculty and administration on their perceptions of happily working together were as a whole positive. The group from Town X was very visibly divided on their views about how much impact the "power structure" has. There were some faculty members that felt that a few "power structure" persons control the schools through policies and planning. With the exception of the administration of Town X the faculty of Town X and the administration and faculty of Town Y feel that where the faculty and administration were reared and educated does have a bearing on the children. One wonders why Town X has never had a local superintendent and administration. Only this year did the Town X hire a local assistant superintendent for the first time. Some of the responses of the teachers of Town X concerning the impact the education of the parents has on the children were outright racist and stereotyped. Some teachers actually said that "some children and parents are not worried about getting an education

because they can always get on welfare—a way of life to a lot of people in this area." Others said that "Mexican American parents do not realize the importance of education." One teacher said that most area counselors always advise the Chicano children to pursue vocational trades rather than academic courses because they were better suited for vocational jobs. These misconceptions are so bad and so common that students stop listening to their teachers. It is like saying that people in poverty really like poverty. Teachers with these misconceptions have no idea of the damage they are doing to children. The faculty in Town X feels that the community has to get involved. However, they are not involved at present because the administration has some traditional views that impede this. The faculty feels that this situation is leading to a confrontation between the community and the schools. A common undercurrent running throughout the interviews of Town X is that a communications gap exists between the community (including some parents interviewed) and the administration. If not negotiated peacefully, a confrontation is going to errupt and quite possibly, a student walk-out will also occur. There are apparently some very basic changes needed to take place which will open the communication between the community and the administration of Town X.

In comparing the test results of the two school districts, one sees in Town X a trend of no improvement, but on the contrary, a gradual decline in achievement—

going from a grade placement of 5.3 in 1972 to 4.9 in 1974. In Town Y, even though the results are lower, we see a gradual rise of achievement in grade placement from 3.9 in 1972 to 4.5 in 194. Considering the test results and the responses of the children in their interviews between Town X and Town Y, one can conclude that the children in Town Y appear to be more secure, with a stronger, more positive self-image, with a better pupil-teacher relationship, and with the whole community and school system behind them. The children from Town X appear to be in a stalemate scholastically, with the school, faculty, and administration not communicating with each other.

C. Recommendations

The recommendations that follow are addressed to all the institutions involved in the decisions that affect the education of Chicano children. There are varying degrees of control and influence over the processes by these institutions, but each has a role to play in bringing about necessary changes leading to equal educational opportunities for all children. Together, these institutions represent a powerful force that can revolutionize any and every phase of the education process.

Starting with the Federal Government, it can influence institutions which are directly involved with the education of the Chicano child. Albeit the least directly involved, the Federal Government through firm enforcement of the constitutional and legislative requirements of equal

educational opportunity and through persuasive leverage of its programs of financial assistance for education, can significantly help bring about educational changes to improve the educational conditions of the Chicano children.

Since the states have a constitutional responsibility to provide education to all the children, they play a more direct and authoritative role. Their authority over educational policy can serve as a strong influential force for bringing about needed changes.

Colleges and universities also play a vital part. It is these institutions that train the people who are the teachers, counselors and school administrators. By involving Chicanos as trainees and as staff members, and by gearing the training programs to equip graduates to teach and counsel Chicano children effectively, these institutions of higher education can significantly improve the education received by Chicano students. As it is in most places, the policies tend towards tokenism and merely give lip service to the need to serve the Chicano population (29:184).

The institutions that have the most direct control over the public education are the local school districts and schools. It is the school district that sets the policy and disburses the bulk of financial support. It is these day-to-day decisions of local school officials and teachers that largely determine the education the Chicano children will receive. Thus, if necessary changes and educational reforms are to be effected, it will be largely through

policies and practices instituted at the district level, with strong support from the state agencies and the federal government (29:185). This does not mean that the district should sit idly until the state or federal government initiate action to solve this problem. It is recommended that local school personnel take immediate steps on their own to begin to remedy these serious problems. A continued passive role by the local school district is not only unwarranted but would represent an indefensible abdication of responsibility and a gross disservice to the children whose education has been entrusted to them (29:186).

There are five basic recommendations that relate to the educational reforms for Chicanos, as follows:

(1) The language, history, and culture of the Chicano must become an integral part of the total educational process of today's school.

(2) Chicanos must be fully represented in all decision-making positions that determine or have a bearing on educational policies and practices. The community must be fully involved.

(3) Chicanos must be fully represented in all school positions to reflect the composition of the student body—from top administration to the ancillary personnel.

(4) The curricula we have must be rewritten to meet the present needs of all the children of today. Along with revising the curricula, the present faculties and administrators must be retrained and made aware and sensitive to

all the needs of all the children including the clarification of all misconceptions and stereotypes that have lingered in the halls of today's schools for too long.

(5) All levels of government—local, state, and federal—must readjust their budget priorities to provide needed funds to implement the above mentioned recommendations (20:187).

Constant pressure should remain on teacher education institutions of the Southwest to incorporate the Chicano in their foundation courses and in their recruitment programs. This also applies to counselor training institutions.

Finally, the Office of Civil Rights should take steps necessary to increase substantially the number of districts reviewed annually regarding the denial of equal educational services to Chicanos. An increase of educational staff at each OCR Regional Office and at the headquarters in Washington, D.C., is needed.

In conclusion, it is strongly recommended that studies be initiated on each recommendation in order to facilitate their implementation at all school levels. Much remains to be done if we ever are to bring about equity for all children in our public schools.

GLOSSARY

Anglo: A white, non-Mexican American.

Aztecs: Indians who established a highly advanced civilization in Mexico (1200-1520).

Aztlán: The Chicano nation. Literally, "white land" in Nahautl (Aztec language). Historically, this land was the ancient northern kingdom (today's Southwest) of the Aztec tribes before they migrated south to what is today Mexico City.

Bracero: A Mexican field hand.

Barrio: Chicano neighborhood or community.

Campesino: A field worker; literally, one from the "fields" (camps).

Chicano: A Mexican American living in the United States. It is now popularly used by Mexican Americans who are conscious of being part of a people who are proud of their ethnic and racial identity, history, and culture.

Compadres: Godparents.

EEO: Equal Educational Opportunities.

Gabacho: Anglo (derogatory).

Gringo: Anglo (derogatory).

Hispano: A Spanish-speaking person.

La Raza: Literally, the "Race" or "people." It refers to all Mexicans north and south of the border; or sometimes, to all Spanish-speaking people of color (gente de bronze—bronze skinned peoples).

La Raza Cosmica: The Cosmic Race, a term coined by the 19th century Mexican philosopher José Vasconcelos. According to his concept, mestizos would form the cosmic, ideal race because they are a racial mixture of New World Indians and Mediterranean-European stock, and tropical climates have historically nurtured higher civilizations than temperate ones. This concept was the Mexican response to racist Anglo-Nordic historians who

rejected Mexican people as inferior, semi-civilized "half-breeds."

La Raza Unida: It is a third party movement in American politics inspired and sustained by Chicanos who seek to establish political self-determination for La-Raza. It was founded by José Angel Gutiérrez from Crystal City, Texas.

LEA: Local Educational Agency.

Machismo: An exagerated sense of Mexican masculinity.

Mestizo: A person of mixed blood.

Mexican American: A Mexican born in the United States.

SEA: State Education Agency.

USCOCR: United States Commission on Civil Rights.

WASP: White Anglo-Saxon Protestant

Wetback: An illegal Mexican in the United States—supposedly with his back wet after swimming the Rio Grande river to get here.

APPENDIX

0124

STUDENT QUESTIONNAIRE

Name Code _____

Grade _____

Age _____

1. Which of the following best describe you?

   (a) Black

   (b) White

   (c) American Indian

   (d) Oriental

   (e) Other

2. Did you go to Kindergarten? Yes __ No __

3. How many brothers and sisters do you have? Brothers _____ Sisters _____

4. Do you think you are better than most students at doing work, about the same, or not as good as most students? (Underline Answer)

5. Does the principal of this school know you by name? Yes __ No __

6. Have you talked with a school counselor this school year? Yes __ No __

7. Is there any adult at this school you could talk to if you were upset or in trouble? Yes __ No __

8. Do you think you might want to be a teacher when you grow up? Yes __ No __

9. Has your mother or father visited school during this school year? Yes __ No __

10. Do you think your teacher likes you? Yes __ No __

11. If you could choose the kind of school you would go to, would you pick one with -- (1) All Anglo Students

    (2) All Mexican American or Chicano Students

    (3) A Mixture of Different Kinds of Children

12. In the 6th grade, have you studied any thing about the Mexican American people? Yes __ No __

13. Are your parents satisfied with the grades you get in school? Yes __ No __

14. Do you live with both of your parents?

15. How do your parents feel about you going to school with both Anglo and Mexican American students?

    (a) They like it

    (b) They don't like it

    (c) It doesn't matter to them

16. How do you think your school principal feels about Anglo and Mexican American students going to the same school together?

    (a) He/she likes it

    (b) He/she doesn't like it

    (c) It doesn't matter to him/her

17. Do you think Mexican American students in this school cause a lot of trouble? Yes __ No __

18. Are any of the teachers in this school unfair to Mexican American students? Yes __ No __

19. Are you afraid of most grownups of a different race from you? Yes __ No __

20. Do you think white people are smarter than Mexican American? Yes __ No __

21. Does your family own their home? Yes __ No __

22. Does your family buy groceries with food stamps or get surplus food? Yes __ No __

23. In the past week, did you think of any of your school work or homework was fun? Yes __ No __

24. Do you like your teacher? Yes __ No __

25. At school, are you blamed for things that just aren't your fault? Yes __ No __

26. Is reading and arithmatic too hard for you? Yes __ No __

27. Does your teacher or someone else at school give you special help with your reading? Yes __ No __ Arithmatic? Yes __ No __

28. Are you satisfied with yourself? Yes __ No __

29. Are you afraid of tests? Yes __ No __

30. Do you really feel you belong in school? Yes __ No __

31. Have you had any fights in school this year? Yes __ No __

32. Does your family get a newspaper regularly? Yes __ No __

33. Does the teacher spend a lot of time getting the class to behave? Yes __ No __

34. Do you think you are happy in this school? Yes __ No __

35. How do you go to school?

    (a) Walk or bicycle

    (b) School bus

    (c) Car

    (d) Other

36. Do you think you are going to college? Yes __ No __

37. Were you here last year? Yes __ No __

    If not, where? _____

    _____

    _____

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR PARENTS

Name Code _____

Sex _____

Age Range _____

From Local Area _____

1. In your judgment, is there satisfaction or dissatisfaction with faculty and administration as to the overall on-going educational program? Tell me about it.

2. Does the power structure have an impact on the direction of the school program as a whole? Tell me about it.

3. Do you feel that the place where the faculty and administration was reared and educated have a bearing on the feeling toward children and indeed affect the learning of children?

4. Does the education of the parents affect the aspiration level of achievement of the children?

5. What are some of the things you consider good in your community? Not Good?

6. If money was no object, would you move to another community? Tell me about it.

7. Are you satisfied with the present educational system?

8. What do you think about bilingual/bicultural education?

9. Are your children receiving equal educational opportunities entitled and guaranteed to all children of this country?

10. Do you believe that the community should be involved with the on-going school program? Why?

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR FACULTY AND ADMINISTRATION

Name Code _____

Sex _____

Age Level _____

From Local Area _____

1. Is there satisfaction with faculty and administration as to the overall on-going educational program? Tell me about it.

2. Does the power structure have an impact on the school program as a whole? Tell me about it.

3. Do you feel that the place where the faculty and administration was reared and educated have a bearing on the feelings toward children and indeed affect their learning?

4. Does the education of the parents affect the aspiration level of achievement of the children?

5. What are some of the things you consider good in your community? Not Good?

6. If opportunity presented itself, would you move to another job outside of education? Would you move to another school system? Why?

7. What do you think about bilingual/bicultural education.

8. Are (you) the children of your system receiving equal educational opportunities entitled and guaranteed to all children of this country.

9. Do you believe that the community should be involved with the on-going overall school program?

10. How does the future of this school system appear to you?

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR POWER STRUCTURE

Name Code _____

Position _____

Age Range _____

From Area _____

1. In your judgment, is there satisfaction with the faculty and administration of the schools as to the direction of on-going school program?

2. What impact do you have on the school program?

3. Do you feel that the place where the faculty and administration was reared and educated have a bearing on feelings toward children and indeed affect their education?

4. Does the education level of parents affect the aspiration level of children?

5. What are some of the pluses and minuses of a community of this size locale?

6. What do you think about bilingual/bicultural education?

7. Are you satisfied with the present education system?

8. What do you think of community involvement with the educational system?

9. Are the children of this community receiving equal educational opportunities entitled and guaranteed to all children of this country?

10. How does the education future look for this school system?

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